The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Federal Church Union – A Reply

By E. Stanley Jones

What Kind of Universe?

An Editorial

Empty the Relocation Centers!

By Kirby Page

Liquor: A Case of Paralysis

By M. V. Oggel

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In This Issue

E. STANLEY JONES originally made his proposal concerning the federal union of churches in an article which appeared in The Christian Century last December. He also urged it in the address which he made before the conference of representatives of interchurch agencies which met with the Federal Council of Churches in Cleveland in the same month. His discussion in this issue comes at the close of a series of articles in which several denominational leaders have analyzed its bearing on Christian union as seen by them. Dr. Jones's latest book, *Abundant Living,* is currently a religious best seller.

KIRBY PAGE formerly edited the *World Tomorrow* and served as a director of the Emergency Peace Campaign. He is the author of some twenty books, the latest of which is *Living Prayerfully,* 1941. He lives in La Habra, Calif.

M. V. OGGEL is minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Lincoln, Nebr. He contributes frequently to The Christian Century and to other magazines.

WAYNE A. R. LEYS is professor of philosophy at the Y.M.C.A. College, Chicago.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE is a Chicago poet whose verse is being published in many important periodicals. Last year she was awarded the poetry prize of the North Shore Writers' Conference, held in Evanston, Ill. She has recently published a translation of meditations by Philippe Vernier under the title *With the Master.*

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

June 16, 1943

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Calendar of Coming Events

June 2-July 14. Lisle Fellowship Conference, Lisle, N. Y.
June 8-17. Institute of International Relations, Wichita, Kans.
June 12-19. Presbyterian Work Conference, Labor Temple, New York.
June 14-18. Annual Bible Conference, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.
June 14-19. Central Kansas Methodist Summer School of Ministerial Training, Winfield.
June 14-July 28. Lisle Fellowship Conference, Pacific Palisades, Calif.
June 15-24. Institute of International Relations, Grinnell, Ia.
June 15-25. Columbus Area Methodist Summer School of Ministerial Training, Little Rock, Ark.
June 16-18. Regional Conference of the Churches on a Just and Durable Peace, Frederick, Md.
June 17-27. Wellesley Summer Institute for Social Progress, Braircliff Manor, N. Y.
June 18-26. Institute of International Relations, Greensboro, N. C.
June 18-Aug. 13. American Friends Service Committee Work Camps, Chicago, Indianapolis, Grayridge, Mo., Vinalhaven, Me., Moorestown, N. J.
June 19-26. Presbyterian Work Conference, Camp Gregory, Lake Cayuga, N. Y.
June 19-26. Presbyterian Work Conference, Chestnut Ridge, Morgantown, W. Va.
June 20-27. Institute of International Relations, Portland, Ore.
June 20-Aug. 20. American Friends Service Committee International Service Seminar in Mexico.
June 21-24. United Lutheran Synod of New York, New York City.
June 21-25. Pastors' Institute, Kansas City, Mo.
June 21-26. Pittsburgh Area Methodist Summer School of Ministerial Training, Buckhannon, W. Va.
June 21-26. South Carolina Methodist Pastors' School, Columbia, S. C.
June 21-26. Tennessee Methodist Pastors' School, Beersheba Springs.
June 25-July 1. Lakeland Young People's Summer Conference, Gurnee, Ill.
June 25-July 4. Institute of International Relations, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
June 25-Aug. 22. Highacres Civilian Training Unit, Glen Mills, Pa.
June 26-July 2. Winona Summer School of Missions, Winona Lake, Ind.
June 26-July 3. Presbyterian Work Conference, Camp Gregory, Lake Cayuga, N. Y.
June 26-Aug. 22. American Friends Service Committee Peace Caravans.
June 27, 28. Inter-Council Staff Conference, Lake Geneva, Wis.
June 27-July 3. Older Young People's Summer Conference, Eureka, Ill.
June 27-July 7. Institute of International Relations, Oakland, Calif.
June 27-July 16. Quaker Cove Civilian Training Unit, Puget Sound, Wash.
June 28-July 1. Western Pennsylvania Baptist House Party, Huntingdon.
June 28-July 2. Ocean Grove Methodist Summer School of Ministerial Training, Ocean Grove, N. J.
June 28-July 3. Oklahoma Methodist Pastors' School, Oklahoma City.
June 28-July 3. Christian Youth Council, Jackson's Mill, W. Va.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

ALTHOUGH ICHANG has not yet fallen, the armies of China have thoroughly established their claim that the Japanese force operating on the upper Yangtze river has just been handed the greatest defeat of the war. Coming on the heels of predictions that China might be forced out of the war, the victory proves that the offensive power of that nation's armies must still be counted the greatest asset of the United Nations in east Asia. Both prongs of the invasion aimed at Chungking have been shattered and the demoralized Japanese forces hurled back. The south bank of the Yangtze has been cleared far to the east of Ichang and the suburbs of that outpost city have been invaded by Generalissimo Chiang's triumphant veterans. The fall of Ichang, now imminent, will turn the defeat into a rout of major proportions. Already the region surrounding Lake Tungting, the "rice bowl" of this area, has been largely restored to Chinese control. An important element in China's new-found strength is the contingent of Chinese airmen who have returned to their beleaguered country after completing their training in America. In cooperation with the United States fliers, they have given to the present drive the first substantial air support the hard-pressed armies of China have had.

Chinese Claim Greatest Victory of War

Appeal for Life of Detroit 'Traitor'

SIXTY-FIVE citizens, many of them nationally known and honored, have petitioned President Roosevelt to commute the death sentence which the federal courts have imposed on Max Stephan of Detroit. Stephan is the naturalized German restaurant keeper who took in a German prisoner who had escaped from Canada, fed him, bought clothes for him, provided him with lodging, and after two days sent him on his way toward the Mexican border. For this, when the escaped prisoner was taken in Texas, the Detroit man was arrested, tried for treason and sentenced to death. Now, largely under the leadership of Dr. Henry Hitt Crane of the Central Methodist Church of Detroit, these Americans are asking the President to intervene in the case on four grounds: (1) that such a sentence for such an act is excessive, the more so since this is the first death sentence imposed for treason in the history of the United States; (2) that the death penalty should be reserved for crimes of greater moment, done with deliberate intention to bring defeat to this nation; (3) that the death penalty is not needed as an example; (4) that the death penalty was not asked or desired by the government attorneys who prosecuted Stephan. "It would be a grave reflection on American justice," says the petition, "if history should record that the first man put to death for treason in the United States was an insignificant restaurant keeper who extended personal hospitality for two days to an escaped German prisoner of war." Among the signers are Felix Morley, William Draper Lewis, Christian Gauss, Charles C. Burlingham, George N. Shuster, H. V. Kaltenborn, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Edwin M. Borchard, VanWyck Brooks, William Allen Neilson, Norman Thomas and Bishop Edward L. Parsons. It is to be hoped that the President will grant the petitioners' prayer.

Argentina's Ambiguous Military Revolution

EVENTS moved rapidly in Argentina's revolt of the Palatine guard, but it is too early to say to what end they have moved, so far as concerns the vital question of the new government's attitude toward the United Nations and the Axis powers. Friday—a military revolutionary committee, headed by General Pedro Ramirez, minister of war, and General Arturo Rawson, commander of cavalry, took over the capital without meeting serious resistance. Crowds shouted "Death to fascists!" and stoned a pro-Axis newspaper office and German business houses. President Castillo escaped in a warship. Saturday —President Castillo returned, resigned, and was released. Rawson assumed the presidency, dissolved congress, appointed a cabinet with no discernible trace of liberal sympathies, and issued a statement in which a promise of "absolute, real and loyal American union and collabora-

tion" was qualified (or nullified) by determination to continue the policy of neutrality toward the Axis. Sunday—Rawson ordered the suppression of a communist paper and the arrest of its staff. Its offense was publishing, in what proved to be its last issue, an argument for the restoration of constitutional government, renewal of diplomatic relations with Russia and a pledge of collaboration with the Allied Nations. Two nazi papers were not molested. Monday—Rawson resigned, unable to gain support for his cabinet. Ramirez became president and appointed a cabinet more military than Rawson's, being composed of ten army and navy men as compared with Rawson's eight military to two civilians. It was however less conspicuously anti-liberal. Rawson announced "a cordial policy toward American peoples with whom we have been united since times past" and continued neutrality toward "other countries" (i.e., the Axis) for the present. If this means, as it appears to mean, a desire to escape from the isolation of which Argentina has become painfully aware and to get lend-lease aid from the United States while still furnishing a friendly base of operations for Axis spies and propagandists, it can't be done. The internal politics of Argentina is a tangled skein. It is not simplified by the imminence of the September presidential election, or by the popular discontent with the virtual dictatorship with which Castillo had ruled, or by the inability of the two liberal parties to unite in opposition to the conservative nationalist party. These are the issues with which the revolutionists are chiefly concerned. It remains to be seen whether or not they intend to move toward collaboration with the United Nations.

Detroit Dynamite Moves Closer to the Fire

WHEN more than 20,000 workers in the great war plants of the Packard Motor Car Company struck last week, the ostensible reason was the refusal of white workers to tolerate the "up-grading" or promotion of three Negro workers on the assembly line. The strike occurred in spite of the fact that the United Automobile Workers, now the most powerful union in the C.I.O., officially refuses to countenance color discrimination and did not order the work stoppage. What had happened? Had these thousands of workers simultaneously acted in response to a primal impulse? Hardly. Friction has been developing in the plant over a long period. The Negro workers in the plant, under the influence of various forces including that of communist agitators, had become increasingly intransigent in pressing for their right to promotion. The white workers, many of whom have recently come to Detroit from the south, are under the influence of the Ku Klux Klan or of organizations with similar views. This was categorically affirmed by R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers. They resisted the efforts of the Negroes to better their status, defying even the officials of their own unions. Management, labor officials and the Detroit office of the Fair Employment Practices Committee were all powerless to prevent the clash, which provides ominous warning of more trouble to come. Differences between the secretly organized groups which in the showdown proved to have the real authority over the white workers, and the forces, also largely underground, which impelled the Negroes to press uncompromisingly for justice, made the paralysis of the Packard plant inevitable. That they will produce other and probably far more serious trouble in the future is also inevitable unless they can be brought out into the open in time. A year ago the editors of *Life* produced a national furor when they wrote that "Detroit is dynamite." The Packard strike shows that too many people are playing with fire in the neighborhood of this explosive.

Far-Reaching Plan for Social Security

"CRADLE to the grave" security will be provided for practically all persons in the United States if the bill filed in the Senate this week by Senator Robert F. Wagner becomes law. The New York senator's sponsorship of other basic pieces of social legislation in this administration indicates that a serious effort is to be made to secure early action on this inclusive measure. It is evidently intended to provide the structural changes necessary to meet the situation which will confront the nation when thirty millions of war workers and men in uniform must be demobilized and industry reconverted to give them peacetime employment. Senator Wagner's bill goes far beyond any social legislation which has ever been brought to an issue in our national history. It is to be financed at the beginning mainly by workers and employers, with the government assuming its share of the burden gradually. The plan covers insurance against unemployment and against disabilities incident to illness, accidents and old age. Its coverage would be extended beyond the categories of people included in the present social security laws by the inclusion of the farmers (15,000,000), domestic servants, professional and small business men and others not now covered. The proposed law follows that outlined by the National Resources Planning Board. In principle it does not differ from the plan proposed by Sir William Beveridge in Great Britain, although its provisions are more inclusive. Opposition to such a measure will of course center on its alleged "prohibitive cost" to the nation. But the nation has always borne this cost. Unemployment, illness and old age are unfortunately not new and we have always paid, in one way or another, for these disabilities.

France Has a Temporary Government

IT WAS A SLIGHT anticipation to say, as we said last week, that "France has a government." The statement is truer now than it was then, but even yet strict accuracy requires the qualifying adjective. As the matter now stands, a fourteen-man Committee of National Liberation, including the two co-presidents, eleven cabinet members and one minister without portfolio, is the wartime custodian of French interests. It is also the government of the French people and colonies outside the zone of occupation until the liberation of continental France by an Allied victory shall make possible the establishment of a provisional government which, in turn, will be suc-

ceeded by a permanent government expressive of the popular will. Some have hailed June 7, the day on which the present governing structure was established, as "the birthday of the Fourth Republic," but that term might perhaps be more conservatively reserved for the as yet undetermined date of the formation of the permanent government. This is not, however, to belittle the importance of the present achievement. The new regime is not dictatorial, a temporary constitution has been promulgated, the tensions between the partisans of De Gaulle and Giraud have relaxed considerably, and the persons most strongly suspected of harboring sentiments of collaboration with the Axis have been eliminated. The resignation of Peyrouton as governor general of Algeria was a big help, though the manner of its presentation provided a new threat of dissension which was avoided only by wise restraint on the part of the two chiefs. So long as these two, or either of them, seemed to have a major concern to maneuver themselves into positions of political advantage after the war, there could be no concentration on the main task, which is to win the war. It would be too much to believe that these personal political interests have been forgotten. (Have American pro-administration and anti-administration partisans forgotten theirs?) But they seem now to have been put in their proper place, or to be well on the way to it.

Navy's V-12 Program Will Debase College Education

CARRYING a step farther the argument concerning the navy's V-12 program for the undergraduate and seminary training of candidates for the chaplaincy, the critical student of that plan must note a strong dissent being registered to the claim that the navy's pre-theological curriculum satisfies admission requirements set by the American Association of Theological Schools and will even "provide a far more thorough and comprehensive pre-ministerial grounding" than many seminary students get in the ordinary bachelor of arts course. Professor John C. Schroeder of Yale, who teaches both undergraduate and theological students, has made with the collaboration of Mr. Chalmers Coe some studies on this subject which lead him to these conclusions: that the navy's pre-theological curriculum provides a smattering of many subjects but no opportunity for an adequately intensive study of any; that at most or all of the "navy" colleges (i.e., those at which there is a naval training unit and at one of which the student must do his work) the V-12 course "will not qualify the student for the B.A. degree and hence he will not be eligible to enter a seminary"; that therefore the colleges will have to waive the requirement of a "major" field of study, which most good colleges now demand, or the seminaries will have to waive the requirement of a bachelor's degree for entering students. The immediate effect of the program, in Professor Schroeder's opinion, is that "actually it proposes a radical change in American undergraduate education." Now it may well be argued that American college education might be the better for some radical changes, but few would be willing, on strictly educational grounds, to entrust the making of these changes to the navy and to have them designed in a hasty improvisation to meet an emergency need for more chaplains with some sort of academic credentials. Another thing: The plan proposes to take high school graduates at eighteen (though most of them are nearer seventeen), and give them four years of college in three and three years of seminary in two—total, five calendar years. That brings them to twenty-three (or twenty-two). They cannot become chaplains until they are twenty-four. What is the navy going to do with this chaplaincy-trained "officer material" in the intervening year or two?

'These Things Happen So Often'

WHAT happens to the American of Japanese descent who finds himself treated like an outcast? Here is one answer, which we take from a letter written by a nisei citizen who, in a spirit of high patriotism, enlisted in the United States army immediately after Pearl Harbor. "Ever since they announced Japanese shooting of American prisoners of bombing of Tokyo," he writes, "we all nisei soldiers got confined to the barrack. We can't even go to P.X. or to the movie or service club now. Only place we can go is to the mess hall and next barrack. . . . It is a punishment for what we have no responsible for. I blew up when we got the order. I don't want to feel this way toward this country and I honestly tried very hard to keep faith on her and believe on her, but I can't help it any more when things like this happen so often. I cried last night and I wasn't the only one either. I know so many good Americans and I tried and tried, but these things happen so often overpowering it. Other nisei are taking very calmly and quieter than usual, but I couldn't hold on. . . . Honestly, I tried my best to be a good soldier, but now no use because my heart isn't there any more. I want to be somebody you'll be proud of, but look as I have failed. I only wish you believe on me and remember that I tried my very best." This boy went into the war a fervid American patriot. What will he be when he comes out?

Coal Strike Provokes Labor Regulation

IT WAS NOT a coincidence that at almost the same moment when the United Mine Workers' committee was voting to postpone the coal strike once more the drastic Smith-Connally bill for the regulation of labor organizations was receiving the approval of the House of Representatives. The bills which have been accepted by both the House and the Senate are now in the hands of the conference committee to which has been assigned the responsibility of ironing out their differences. It is certain that the ensuing legislation will contain many provisions which will not be to the liking of either the administration or organized labor. For this however they have only themselves to blame. The administration has opposed all attempts at the regulation of labor in the public interest, in spite of conclusive evidence that some unions are controlled by racketeers and that others have abused their growing power. This has made it inevitable,

as the *New York Times* pointed out, that regulatory legislation would be written by the enemies rather than by the friends of labor. Labor itself has refused to unite so that it could rule its own house and speak with one voice to Congress and the nation concerning its rightful claims. In spite of these handicaps, however, the legislation now in its final stages is not as bad as might have been anticipated. The provision requiring officers annually to file with the national labor relations board reports of their finances, their conditions of membership, the number of their members, the names and salaries of all employed officials and the date of their last election of officers will work no hardship on the majority of unions, which are honestly managed. The provision which forbids unions to make financial contributions to political campaigns does not prevent union members from contributing voluntarily and personally. The provision for a secret ballot under government supervision before labor may strike has long been overdue. As to the 30-day cooling off period after a strike has been voted there will be differences of opinion.

What Kind of Universe?

IN A letter which appears on page 720 of this issue, Howard C. Wilkinson asks: What kind of universe is it which thrusts a Christian into a position where he is unable to submit his actions to (quoting us) "any moral criterion such as the moral teaching of Jesus or the ethical code of any civilized people"? This question goes straight to the heart of the controversy between this paper and the pacifists. Let us restate, briefly, the essential point in this controversy.

The distinguishing feature of the pacifist's position is his absolute opposition to war. The Christian Century holds that when war once takes the field the pacifist, like all other citizens, is helpless to oppose it. He can oppose it before it begins—he can work to *prevent* its coming. If it comes, he can believe that its coming was unnecessary—that there were alternative courses which would have prevented it. He can disagree with the popular expectation concerning the ends that will be achieved by military victory. But when actual war is on, he cannot oppose *war*. He is involved, willy nilly, in the fighting and has no choice save to decide on which side he shall fight.

This is true of both the conscientious objector and the non-draftee pacifist. The conscientious objector is under an illusion when he thinks that by refusing to bear arms he is bearing witness against *war*. He is bearing witness against his country and aiding his country's enemy. All non-draftee pacifists, on the other hand, are fighting on the side of their country, along with their non-pacifist brothers. The pacifists, we say, are nursing an illusion when they imagine that their behavior in wartime is relevantly determined by their absolute opposition to war.

Mr. Wilkinson is a pacifist. As such, he believes that a Christian must not only oppose the coming of war, but when it comes he must have no part in it. We say that he can indeed oppose war before it comes, but that when it comes he cannot help having a part in it—an active, fighting part. Taking our point of view for the moment, he then wants to know what kind of universe this is in which the practice of the moral teaching of Jesus is not always possible.

I

Our answer is that it is just that kind of universe! It is the kind of universe in which the Christian, like every other person, is sometimes thrust—perhaps by his own individual sin or, on a larger scale, by the sin of the human community in which he shares—into tragic situations which cannot be resolved by conformity to the moral teaching of Jesus. If our friend quails before such a universe, we suggest that he reflect on Carlyle's comment on a remark made by Margaret Fuller. With a touch of condescension, she had said: "I accept the universe." When the remark was reported to Carlyle, he grimly ejaculated: "Gad, she'd better!"

Carlyle's realism is rock bottom in Christianity. Christian faith accepts the universe! It is not a faith which seeks to escape from tragedy. It tolerates no illusions about reality. It abjures all fantastic philosophies and all obscurantist mysticisms by which man tries to lift himself out of the real universe into a universe of imagination. It will not let him take comfort by massaging his subjective consciousness into a belief that he does not share the common lot. Christianity faces squarely the fact that this universe is not ideal, that God's creative activity is not yet done, that he has "not yet finished man," that there is ugliness as well as beauty in the world, cruelty as well as compassion, error as well as truth, pain and sorrow as well as comfort and joy, necessity as well as freedom, and through all there runs the pervasive reality of sin. Robert Louis Stevenson expressed only a part of the truth when he said:

> The world is so full of a number of things
> I'm sure we should all be as happy as kings.

For the world is so full of a number of *other* things that the unalloyed happiness which the poet sought to inspire in children is possible only for children.

Christianity confronts these raw, gross realities of our human universe and deals with them; it does not try to escape them. The unflinching steadiness of its realism is nowhere more clearly displayed than in its dealing with man's moral freedom. This capacity for freedom is man's most distinguishing characteristic. Yet, lofty as is its conception of man, Christianity will not let him cherish the illusion that his freedom is unlimited. It shatters his illusion that he can always do what, morally, he ought to do, and brings him to the abyss of moral despair where he cries out with Paul, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?" The Christian gospel comes penetratingly to man only when he realizes the tragic nature of his moral experience—that he cannot always do what he ought to do. Therefore Christianity is much more than the moral teaching of Jesus. It is not primarily moralistic at all, but realistic. It is primarily a revelation of the nature and character of the universe; that is, of ultimate reality; that is, a revelation of the tragic love and grace of God at the heart of things.

This revelation became most clear, not on the hill where Jesus gave his moral teaching, but on that other hill where he was crucified. Here the universe of man's existence was opened up—as when a great fissure is opened in the

ground by an earthquake—exposing the very heart of reality. Faith looked down, and what it saw was tragedy! Tragedy at the heart of the universe! Tragedy in the heart of God! For this man who suffers on the cross was none other than the Son of God whom the Father in infinite pain gave to the world that the world might know what kind of universe this is. We do not know our Christianity until we know the kind of universe which the cross of Christ reveals. It is a universe of tragedy for man, and the cross reveals it as a universe of tragedy for God. The Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world!

II

To some it may seem that our correspondent, in shifting from his personal moral problem to the problem of the universe, has gone unnecessarily far afield. But he has not. He is acting on a sound Christian instinct. For the genius of Christianity is disclosed no less in its outlook upon the universe than in its insight into the personal and profound experience of each individual soul. As our correspondent contemplates the frustration of his pacifist convictions which would follow upon his acceptance of our thesis concerning war, he instinctively challenges the kind of universe which would thrust him into so tragic a position. And our answer is relevant to his personal problem when we say: This is just that kind of universe—it is one in which man's freedom to practice the moral teaching of Jesus cannot always be exercised.

Since America entered the war we have written much in these pages on the inapplicability of pacifist principles after a war has actually begun. Our eyes recently fell upon two statements which lend support to our position. They were printed in Dr. J. H. Oldham's great little *Christian News-Letter* published in London. The writers' names are not given, but Dr. Oldham's high respect for their wisdom is indicated by the fact that he submitted to them an advance copy of a now famous editorial on bombing, asking their criticism and counsel. Their letters are in reply to this request. A portion of the first letter follows:

> While I am in agreement with what is said, I am extremely doubtful about the desirability of raising the subject at all, unless it can be discussed at a profounder level than that at which the minds of most people move. The difficulty is that, if one avoids yielding points to the obstinate pacifist, one is in danger of reassuring people too much. The difficult problem to present, in short, is that of what one might call the *necessity of sin.* That is to say, that we have got into the position—indeed, that humanity is chronically more or less deeply in the position—in which it is necessary to do what is wrong. If the majority of Christians who agree that this bombing is necessary, or that the probability of its necessity is strong enough to determine action, could consent to the action and at the same time feel the necessity for penitence and reparation, it might very much ameliorate the postwar attitude; but for the majority the question is seen simply as one of right or wrong, and, if it is right, then they imagine that our consciences should be clear. But sin and penitence are, I suspect, for most people hardly more than verbal flourishes.

The phrase, "necessity of sin," is unfortunate. A necessity cannot be a sin. If an action is a necessity it can hardly be said to lie under moral judgment, but can only be regarded as non-moral or amoral. It would have been better had the writer said that war puts upon us the necessity of doing that which, *outside of such necessity,* is sin. (The Christian Century holds that war, after it has begun, is not sin; it is hell, the fruit or wages of sin.)

The second letter, stressing the same theme, is more careful in its phrasing (except for its similarly unfortunate use of the word "sin" in the opening sentence) and more accurately reflects the position frequently expounded in our own pages. This letter follows:

> We all know very well that the soldier who executes at last the evil that civilians have collectively introduced into the world is the less, not the more, in sin. For he pays the penalty; he suffers death knowingly as he inflicts it.
>
> To recognize these things is not to idealize the soldier nor to idealize war. On the contrary, only by recognizing the *tragic situation* of fallen humanity, which has made war a recurring calamity to his societies, can we realize the full pathos of a *necessity* which drives men, as much by good motives as bad ones, to seek each other's physical extinction, mass by mass, with all the attendant evils of disrupting their own societies in the process. The situation which has brought civilized man to the practice of such enormities *by necessity* must surely be the product of sin which is original—in the common as well as the theological sense of the word. . . . We have denied Christ, after his revelation to the world—which means that we have hardened our hearts and denied the tragic aspect of life, in the hope of thereby enjoying life more. But by covering over the evil within we have made it physical and external. This physical, external evil society can only strive to destroy physically, thereby intensifying it until the full price is paid in death and destruction.

The writer of the first letter questions the desirability of discussing the subject at all "unless it can be discussed at a profounder level than that at which the minds of most people move." There is practical sense in this cautionary word. We, however, have chosen to bring the issue into the open, to discuss it at the "profounder level," believing that only so can the moral confusion which besets the Christian mind be clarified. This moral confusion, we maintain, arises from an un-Christian conception of the universe, that is, of reality. The modern Christian mind is obfuscated by a too simple moralism which regards all human action as simply right or wrong. It is confused, primarily, by its assumption that the universe can be defined in purely moralistic terms, that the moral law has been flung out like a cosmic net to cover the whole field of reality.

III

The Christian view of the universe, however, is not fundamentally moralistic, but realistic. Christianity does not derive reality from morality; it derives morality from reality. The Christian gospel is not, primarily, good news concerning the ideal, but good news concerning the real. It sees the human predicament as a tragic predicament, and it condemns as illusion and presumption every human claim to find a simple moral escape. The gospel sees man thrust by sin (his own, or the collective sin in which he shares) into these tragic situations. And it points a way of salvation by which life's tragedies may be overcome and transformed. Its way of salvation is not the simple practice of the moral teaching of Jesus. The practice of Christian morality is the fruit, not the root, of the Christian salvation.

War is only one of life's tragic situations. Life is full of them. Wherever there is a conflict of loyalties, the tragic

element is present to make an application of the moral teaching of Jesus difficult and sometimes impossible.

How can moral tragedy be overcome? Christianity's answer to this question is its essential gospel. In the cross of Christ it reveals a God who is immanent in the tragedy, party to it, suffering with its human sufferers, and offering salvation on one single, simple but penetrating condition. This condition is repentance—repentance, not for the tragedy, but for the sin which issued in the tragedy. In thus grounding man's salvation, amid the tragic necessities of life, upon the single condition of his repentance, God acknowledges man's freedom—a freedom which he possesses even when he is not free! For man is always and everywhere free to repent! No evangelical-minded Christian needs to be instructed concerning the application of this gospel in individual experience. It is the grand theme of all our preaching, and the testimony to its truth is the glorious volume of Christian experience through the ages.

Many Christians take this gospel of repentance too narrowly. They think of it only in terms of individual repentance. But it applies beyond individual experience to the collective life of men—in the case of war, to the nation. That is to say, the gospel of repentance reveals the nature of the universe and demands that nations and civilizations conform to the nature and law of the universe or be lost. It is difficult to get even Christian people to see this. Sin and repentance, says the first of Dr. Oldham's correspondents, "are for most people hardly more than verbal flourishes"; and for Mr. Wilkinson, repentance is "a rather academic matter" when applied to the causes of the tragedy of war. This way of thinking about repentance has made the so-called "social gospel" seem like an exotic innovation in the life of the modern church. The social gospel often lures the church into a false role as a presumptuous dabbler in politics. But this is because the social conception of Christianity has not yet struck its roots deep into the essential Christian faith. Today, Christian leadership is striving to lay upon the churches their unique responsibility for the creation of a new postwar world order. But the only ground for claiming divine sanction for such activity is the Christian gospel of repentance for collective sin. Unless the nations repent—not of war, but of the sins which produce war—the end of this war will be only a way station toward another war.

Why is this gospel of repentance held at such a discount even by Christian people? We believe it is because repentance is not understood in its Christian sense. It is thought of as tearful regret or sorrow. But it is not that: it is a changed *mind,* a new *purpose!* In its application to war, it is thought of as repentance for the necessity of fighting—that is, for the tragedy. But it is not that: it is repentance for the sin that brought on the tragedy. When The Christian Century says that we must "fight repentantly," our critics think only in terms of the individual fighter, whether soldier or civilian. This is part of our meaning, but we mean more than that. We mean collective repentance, national repentance. The test of the reality of such collective repentance is that a nation, *while it is fighting,* should say in its heart and conscience: "This thing shall not happen again! We as a nation under God propose to do whatever is demanded of us to make sure that it does not happen again!" The result of such repentance by the nation will be nothing less than a national regeneration, even as such repentance in the individual results in a personal regeneration.

This gospel of repentance and regeneration flows from the nature of the universe as the heart of the universe was unveiled in the cross of Christ. A civilization can endure only if it is in harmony with the structure of the universe. It is lost until it quits the sands of anarchic nationalism and opportunism and builds its house upon this rock. Only by repentance for sin can either men or nations attain the practice of Christian morality. Without repentance, man is a lost soul, caught in the entanglement of life's moral tragedies. And without repentance the nations are condemned to the hopeless and endless tragedy of war. If any people collectively needs to hear this gospel of repentance and regeneration, the American and British peoples stand in need of hearing it now. And if ever the Christian church needed to understand that this, and nothing less, is its gospel and to preach it with the thunder of prophetic authority, it is now.

The Watchers

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Will you try an experiment? The project is designed to convince you that this world is full of vigilant readers. In one of your editorials quote a passage as from Strabo when it is really from Pausanias, and see how swiftly the corrections come. Watchers have their eye on you. They know, and quite rightly they let you know.

"Strabo indeed!" one murmurs—and calling for his tablets he indites a letter to you more in grief than in anger, and then subsides into his armchair to read calmly the rest of the article. He is at peace; he has caught an error.

Let an editor slip—now and then even editors slip—and at once he is reproved, rebuked, pitied by this Vigilant Committee, which never meets but is always in being. They are in reality his best friends. Every editor or other writer should have a text set up in illuminated letters over his desk, "Verify your quotations." If he does not, there is reason to be grateful that others will.

Not long ago a writer, who is himself a Vigilant Reader of the first order, said that he remembered hearing a statesman attribute to Sidgwick the words, "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind." At once the answer came from the watchers, "Not Sidgwick but Emerson, from whom Sidgwick quoted them." That was not so difficult to verify. But I have no doubt if that same writer had attributed a saying to Confucius, when it came from Lao-tze, tens of thousands would have written to expose the error.

There are readers who do not care a straw who wrote what. There are others who even say that a line of poetry does not grow any more beautiful when they know the author. To rob Anon to pay Horace would be for them an unprofitable task. But it is a cause for deep thankfulness that there are others, many of them, of a nobler breed.

Do try that experiment. It would reassure you, if that were ever necessary, that you have watchful readers.

Ever yours, seeing eyes in the jungle,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

Federal Church Union–A Reply

By E. Stanley Jones

I THINK I can discuss in a dispassionate and detached manner the replies to the proposal for immediate federal union of the churches. For I do not feel that it was my proposal; it was proposed to me.

I was walking across the veranda of a mission house in India about six years ago, not thinking about church union at all, when suddenly there it was—the whole proposal, full bloom. It seemed to be "given," from a source outside myself. I know the danger of claiming, by implication, that such a proposal is given of God and therefore is sacrosanct and beyond criticism. I make no such claim, for at best it would go through a very faulty human channel.

But that sense of "givenness" has brought me an inner poise and detachment about the whole matter. This has persisted even after I learned from Dr. Richards that the proposal had been considered twenty years ago at Philadelphia and rejected. Many things, once rejected, have come up again and have been finally adopted. My inner attitude all the way through has been: "We will probably have to come to it, some way, some day."

Sound in Principle

I would not say this were I not convinced, with Dr. William Lindsay Young, that the proposal is essentially sound in principle. This conviction has persisted and deepened as the discussion has gone on, although that discussion was surprisingly unfavorable, and that from surprising quarters. Of all those who discussed the question I expected Dr. Day and Dr. Richards to be the most favorable—and they were least! On the other hand, I expected the Baptist, the Lutheran and the Unitarian writers to raise most objections—and they raised the fewest.

But to the discussion itself. I found myself inwardly squirming a bit at the way the editors of The Christian Century summed up the proposal in opening the discussion: "Existing churches would retain their autonomy and individuality, but would federate their efforts through a General Assembly, state, county and city assemblies, all holding delegated authority." The proposal goes far beyond that statement. There would be no existing churches. There would be one church—"The Church of Christ in America." The denominations would cease to exist as separate churches and become branches of the one church. They would not "retain their autonomy and individuality" any more than the states retain their autonomy and individuality. That autonomous individuality has lost itself in a higher entity—the federal union. The union is supreme, and finally authoritative. Within that limitation the states enjoy local self-government, provided it does not clash with the union. It would be the same with the branches of "The Church of Christ in America." The church would be the supreme loyalty, the branches subsidiary to that loyalty.

Nor does the statement that the branches "would federate their efforts through a General Assembly" sufficiently express the meaning of the proposal. This opens the proposal to the charge of mere activism which Dr. Charles Leslie Venable brought out. They would do more than federate their efforts; they would manifest their inmost being through the General Assembly. For the branches would not be united merely in effort; they would be united in being. Do the states of the United States merely federate their efforts through our national government, or do they express their very selves through it? If the branches only federated their efforts through the General Assembly this would be mere federation, but the proposal says not federation, but federal *union*. The branches have lost themselves as separate entities and are expressing themselves through a new entity—the union.

No Episcopal Comment

When we look at the series of comments as a whole, the most disconcerting thing was not the replies—they were disconcerting enough—but the absence of a reply from one church. The editors say that every Episcopalian they approached to take part in the series declined to do so. That might be only an accident; the editors may have been unlucky in lighting on an unusually busy group of Episcopalians. But it may be very ominous. I fear the latter, though I hope I am mistaken. Why did no Episcopalian reply? Was it because the proposal visualizes the possibility of the congregational, presbyterian and episcopal types of ministry and government existing side by side on a basis of equality? And do most Episcopalians visualize something else in church union: everyone episcopally ordained and, in the view of many, in line with an apostolic succession?

The South India Proposal

That interpretation is strengthened in my mind by the South India negotiations where the ministers of the new church at the end of thirty years would all be episcopally ordained and safely in the apostolic line. If that is the view of church union demanded, I for one would reluctantly have to oppose it. I agree with Canon Streeter that all three types of ordination and government can be found side by side in the New Testament; to try to jam everyone into the same mold is to run counter to New Testament freedom of conscience. I love union, but I love Christianity more, and to sacrifice Christian freedom of conscience for the sake of uniformity is too big a price to pay.

Moreover, the attempt to get everyone episcopally ordained before union is to ask for the impossible—it won't happen. Could the Baptists, for instance, accept it without committing suicide? They would sacrifice the essential thing for which they stand. I hope the refusal of any Episcopalian to discuss the matter is not as ominous as I have suggested, but I fear it is.

As to the two most serious objections—those from Dr. Day and Dr. Richards—this might be said: the former gave no concrete substitute and the latter's substitute was hopeless. Dr. Day in his opening paragraphs depicts a man floating in the air and not touching the earth. His article was a perfect demonstration. He rejected church federal union as a half-god and offered nothing in its place. He said that all should come into organic union, but how? Can you visualize the possibility of everyone signing on the dotted line, accepting the same church government and polity? I simply cannot. If we insist on this, then we put church union off to the Greek kalends. To believe in that necessity is to disbelieve in union—at least as a practical proposition now. Dr. Day's feet never touched the earth. Did he realize that if he came to practical proposals for the amalgamation of the churches his feet would be hopelessly entangled in orders, ministries and governments? So he kept aloof.

Dr. Richards did come to earth and made the suggestion that organic union would come along the line of the movements now going on to amalgamate denominations with their affinities so that in the end there would be about eight types of churches left. There are two objections to this. One is that it also puts off church union to the Greek kalends. Inner necessity and outer demands make church union a pressing imperative *now*. To talk about church union sometime within the next century is not to talk about it at all. It isn't realistic.

A Council is Not Union

Besides, when you do come to the church union at the end of such a process, you haven't got it! You have eight separate churches on your hands. Dr. Richards suggests that these eight remaining bodies will then "probably vest legislative, executive and judicial authority, to a greater or less extent, in the World Council of Churches." He suspects that this is "wishful thinking." It is. After a long process he visualizes eight types of churches becoming willing at the end to vest legislative, executive and judicial authority in a council. That is psychologically impossible. We vest legislative, executive and judicial authority in our federal government because that government is *us*. Were it not *us* we would never do it. That "World Council" would not be the one church functioning; it would be representatives of eight independent churches in council. It would be impossible for eight independent churches to vest legislative, executive and judicial authority in something outside themselves.

Dr. Day says that we must have amalgamation of the churches. Under the proposal of church federal union this process of amalgamating denominations could go on as far as it could go. If branches desired to amalgamate among themselves they could do so. There would then be that many fewer branches in "The Church of Christ." It might be that in the end we would have eight types, as Dr. Richards suggests. But in the meantime those eight types would be united in one church and could vest legislative, executive and judicial authority in its "World Assembly of the Church of Christ." The one church could do it, for that "assembly" would be itself.

Incidentally, when Dr. Day calls federal union "a half-god," does he mean to imply that the principle of federal union is a half-god among principles of government? Is the United States of America a half-god among governments? Then what would be a whole god? Totalitarianism! And that is exactly where you would land in church government if you insisted on amalgamation of all the churches into one undifferentiated whole. The end would be ecclesiastical totalitarianism, so feared by many. Federal union, with its local self-government in the branches, under the supremacy of the union, would head off totalitarianism and yet give us union.

From Both Directions

As to Dr. Venable's suggestion that we begin with the parish, I see no objection in doing so. Church federal union will probably come from the top down, or from the bottom up, or from both directions. Some parishes, impatient of the slowness of movement from the top down, have already put out signs on their local churches, "The Church of Christ in America," and down at the margin in small letters, "Presbyterian Branch." How far this small beginning will go remains to be seen. And how small those letters in the margin will become also remains to be seen. Eventually they might drop out altogether. That could be left to time and the Spirit of God.

So at the end of the discussion the head of church federal union may be bloody, but it is still unbowed. My own inner feeling has been, "Eventually, why not now?" Eventually it will emerge, I am convinced, as a workable proposal.

We are told that only ten men saw the vision of a federal union of the colonies and brought it into being. We believe they were inspired of God when they did it, for they combined union with local freedom, satisfying two instincts in human nature and putting them into a living blend, and thus produced a unified and free people. Since we believe they were inspired of God to obey his laws underlying human nature, we have no hesitation in following along the path they marked out. In doing so we may find that we are not following them, but are following the God who inspired them. If God is leading us into federal union of the churches we may safely follow. If it is not of God it will come to naught—and ought to. But if it is of God?

Dream Immortality

THERE were three thousand men I knew,
Three thousand men passed through my life;
Not one a dream or vision knew,
Three thousand men in sterile strife.

I knew one single lonely soul,
Who came and went his silent ways,
What he achieved I never knew,
But O, the dreams that filled his days!

Three thousand men are now no more,
No memories adorn their scrolls;
But though the silent friend is gone,
His dream now lights a thousand souls.

GLENN CLARK.

Empty the Relocation Centers!

By Kirby Page

IT HAS BEEN my high privilege to visit nine of the ten war relocation centers, where more than 100,000 individuals of Japanese ancestry are now interned. The centers I visited are located in California, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho and Utah. My schedule did not permit me to reach the center at Heart Mountain, Wyoming.

My impression is that an extremely bad policy is being administered with efficiency and moderation by the War Relocation Authority. The officials of this agency, both men and women, are for the most part persons of ability and fine character. Many of them possess deep insight into the problems involved and are sympathetic in the highest degree with the evacuees. Nowhere else have I heard the evacuation policy more vigorously condemned than by men in high place within the centers. Once I heard the exclamation, "The whole thing is an outrage!" Many of the teachers are returned missionaries from Japan.

Life in the Barracks

The barracks, though they stand in desolate areas, are new, clean, dry—and terribly crowded. The entire space allotted to a family is 20 by 25 feet, in which as many as eight members may be living. The food is of good quality and ample in quantity, but the usual practice is for 200 to 300 persons to eat together in a large mess hall. Thus the significance of the family is broken down. The toilet and bath facilities provide little privacy. At least three centers become terribly hot in the summer. Three others are bitterly cold in winter, while two more are frequently bogged down in mud.

The evacuees have adjusted themselves to this strange and unfavorable environment in a remarkable way, usually with high efficiency and good temper. One marvels at the manner in which a bare section of a barracks has been transformed into artistic living quarters. Home-made furniture, rugs, screens, shelves and wall decorations work miracles. Many walls were decorated with paintings by members of the family. In several centers I saw exhibits of artificial flowers so realistic that it was difficult to believe that they had been fashioned by human hands. I saw intricate carvings made from desert hardwood or from cypress collected in the swamps. Rock gardens abounded. One evening I attended a concert and heard music of a high order.

Some of my audiences had in them a large proportion of college graduates, with a generous sprinkling of Ph.D.'s. In three different centers I met members of one remarkable family which had become separated in the evacuation. The elderly father was a tailor, a man of such energy and frugality that he was able to send all his ten children to college. Nine of them have already graduated—four with Ph.D. degrees. Never in my life have I spoken to more alert and appreciative audiences. The high school assemblies were extraordinarily mature in responsiveness.

I was constantly encountering graduates of recognized theological seminaries. And so often was I greeted with the words, "I met you at the Asilomar student conference"—or the Seabeck or Lake Geneva conference—that I began to wonder whether I had run into a reunion of old conference-goers. Many a lively discussion did I have with the assembled pastors of a center's Protestant churches.

Honest and Loyal

So widespread has become the slanderous indictment of an entire people as dishonest and treacherous that I constantly made inquiries among Caucasian friends in the centers as to their own experiences in this respect. The testimony was prompt, vigorous and unanimous. One official reminded me that only the day before he had without hesitation cashed a $50 check for an evacuee who was going out for employment. He said that he had cashed countless checks for the residents and had never lost a nickel, adding dryly that in some other situations he had learned to be cautious about cashing checks. Another official told me of an incident which occurred outside the evacuated area: A Caucasian casually remarked to a nisei friend of his that he had lost $20 by cashing a check for another person of Japanese ancestry. Whereupon he was handed $20 in return for the unpaid check, although the defaulter was a total stranger to the individual who insisted upon making restitution as a means of maintaining the integrity of his group.

Truck-Driving Missionary

The experience of one of my friends is impressive. Herbert Nicholson, after twenty-five years of missionary service in Japan with the Quakers, is now running a free trucking service in and out of Los Angeles to the Manzanar, Poston and Gila River centers. He does every conceivable type of shopping and errand-running for many of the 35,000 residents of these centers, and hauls everything from pianos to canary birds. On one return trip he carried with him for burial the ashes of a friend's beloved son. He is entrusted with keys to safety deposit vaults and is sometimes authorized to sign valuable papers. He visits sick relatives in Los Angeles hospitals. Twice he has made long tours of concentration camps, bringing and taking messages for husbands and sons behind the barbed wire.

I rode with him from Pasadena into Poston and Gila River, with a box of cut flowers and three dogs on top of the load. The appearance of his truck in camp was greeted like the arrival of Santa Claus. Truly he is a glorified messenger boy! And for this manifold service he makes no charge whatever. But his efforts are so appreciated that he is constantly in peril of being overpaid. A dozen times I heard him arguing with friends that the amounts offered were excessive, and saw him handing back a substantial proportion of the sums offered. He no longer

dares to accept a sealed envelope; it will surely contain twice as much as the proper amount for transportation costs.

Morale Is Slumping

But—and this point deserves the utmost emphasis—however amazing the adjustment the evacuees have made to their strange and fearful situation, morale in the camps is slumping sharply and character is deteriorating. The reasons are plain. No real family life is possible under the conditions of housing found in the camps. The work occupying many of the residents is not of sufficient importance to bring satisfaction, and meaningless labor is demoralizing. Unequal pay for equal work reduces zest and efficiency. Resident teachers receive from $16 to $19 per month plus room and board, whereas imported teachers receive $150 to $200 per month. Even famous surgeons and business men with experience in handling large affairs get no more than the resident teachers. Parental influence is diminishing with the steady breakdown of the family. Hopelessness and despair are strangling many lives. One young woman exclaimed, "I feel as if I had been dropped down in a vacuum. Nobody wants me anywhere."

The feeling of reckless irresponsibility is deepening. The sense of rank injustice is generating intense bitterness which eats like a cancer at the character of many a young nisei. Confidence in the ideals of America is being destroyed in the minds of many of these 70,000 American citizens, few of whom were even accused by the FBI of any form of disloyalty to the United States before they were interned without trial and without due process of the law. Faith in American ideals is not dead, however, for the belief is general that the Supreme Court of the United States will yet declare unconstitutional the entire procedure of wholesale internment of American citizens.

Yardstick of Loyalty

Of course there were traitorous and disloyal individuals in the Japanese-American communities. But the FBI has long since ferreted them out. Even in the face of the treatment accorded them, only a fraction of the entire group has had a charge of any kind made against them. Much has been said about the high proportion of disloyalty revealed by the answers to the questions recently asked in the camps in connection with the enlistment of Japanese-descended citizens in the United States army. But I was told repeatedly that the timing and other circumstances surrounding the circulation of this questionnaire were such that it made a very unreliable test of loyalty. The setting up of a special segregated battalion of Japanese-Americans roused deep resentment, it being taken as another evidence of discrimination on racial grounds. The fact that more than five thousand nisei were already enrolled in the regular armed forces had set another standard. Segregation in the army, like segregation everywhere else, is resented by those who are segregated. Unfounded charges of disloyalty made in Congress and in the newspapers have intensified the rankling sense of flagrant injustice.

The moral is plain: We must help the War Relocation Authority to get the Japanese-Americans out of the relocation centers as rapidly as possible, and aid them to find remunerative work and housing in unsegregated areas. Write to the War Relocation Authority at 226 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, for detailed information. Or write to the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, or to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York city.

A most fruitful way of helping in this important undertaking is to increase the opportunities for students to enter the hundreds of colleges and universities which have been approved by the authorities. Well over a thousand young nisei are already in schools, but other qualified students remain in the camps in enforced idleness. It is also important to work incessantly to create the attitudes which will welcome these fellow Americans and their families as citizens and equals. This is particularly necessary in the numerous communities where work is available for Japanese-Americans but housing is denied them. In addition, we can create public opinion in favor of a policy of restitution and compensation for losses sustained by the evacuees. These losses in many cases have been very substantial.

Grateful to Churches

All of this comes home to the churches. They have won the respect and gratitude of the nisei since the evacuation. Let us go on and abolish segregation by welcoming into all our congregations these fellow Christians. Why not employ these well trained graduates of reputable theological schools as co-ministers of great churches? Why have so few churches attended by Caucasian Americans ever been served by a Japanese-American minister? Can the reason be that no person of Japanese ancestry can possibly qualify to serve a church composed chiefly of persons of European ancestry?

It is high time that we who call ourselves Christians should stop classifying human beings according to the birthplace of their ancestors or the color of their skins, and recognize all peoples as kinsmen. That means that in jobs, housing and civic status we must treat them not only as brothers but as equals. Our churches must lead by example. Democracy as a way of life is precious enough to be practiced. And Christianity is far more effective when followed with fidelity.

Had There Been Peace

HAD there been peace on earth, we might have said:
"Without Thy presence we are comforted."

Had there been light, we could have said: "Retire.
We are content with lesser, lunar fire."

Had there been beauty, reason, order, law,
We might have cried: "Thou Son of Man, withdraw."

Had there been love, we would have begged: "Depart,
Disturb not Thou the all-sufficient heart."

But there is neither joy nor peace at all
Outside the orbit of Thy tender call.

And if Thou turn Thy pitying face away,
Cold is our life, extinguished is our day.

Abandon not Thy creatures here below.
O Son of God, to whom else shall we go?

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Liquor: A Case of National Paralysis

By M. V. Oggel

THE PRESIDENT'S persuasive voice came over the air. We shall all have to give up things to win the war, he said. For example, we must go without the second cup of coffee and the second lump of sugar. And for some reason it suddenly occurred to me that it would be unthinkable that he should add, "and the second glass of beer." The other world war brought us wartime prohibition. But now it is unthinkable that we should be asked, let alone required, to forgo even the *second* glass of beer.

True, the distilleries have been converted, for the duration, into manufactories of industrial alcohol. But then, there was a desperate need for industrial alcohol. Besides, on June 30 last, there were over half a billion gallons of spirits alone in bonded storage—a five-year reserve, enough to take care of the boys' needs for quite a while. And beer still has the green light. Canada has drastically curtailed the manufacture, distribution, advertising, sale and consumption of all kinds of liquor. In the United States similar action would be considered lese majesty. For, according to Charles R. Jones of the American Businessmen's Research Foundation, our liquor legislation "is about where it was in 1875."

Silence on a Social Problem

Such symptoms I think can be diagnosed only as a case of national paralysis. Something has happened to the American mind with respect to liquor which prevents us from dealing with it according to the pressing necessities of the hour. I speak partly by way of personal confession. After the repeal of the eighteenth amendment in 1933 I failed to devote an entire sermon to the perennial liquor problem until about a year ago. Well, if that could be true of a preacher, naturally few political leaders are going to be vocal about the problem.

To me, an interventionist ever since the rape of Ethiopia, the paralysis which grips the American mind with respect to liquor is comparable to the blindness with which America long clung to its faith in neutrality. Now as then we display a capacity to shut our eyes to the patent logic of facts of which, curiously, we are yet well aware. The cause is not far to seek. In the case of those who opposed the repeal of prohibition it is a matter of feeling hopelessly licked so that they cannot summon sufficient resolution to take up the quarrel again. In the case of those who favored repeal it is a matter of fearing lest any step taken to restrict the liquor business prove a step back to prohibition.

The other day a few of us had a little brush with the liquor interests before a committee of the Nebraska legislature. And when the beer attorney shouted, "The proposed bill is an opening wedge for state and national prohibition," one knew the jig was up. As a matter of fact, the bill was an enforcement measure, pure and simple. But it could plausibly be labeled a prohibition measure, and nothing more was needed to kill it.

Consider the tantalizing illogic of the paralysis which afflicts us. Surely the one major political issue right now is the winning of a war. That we may win a war, more and more businesses are being subjected to more and more restrictions—I mean businesses whose social utility has never been questioned. Now the liquor business is one whose social utility has always been deemed dubious. That is why it is taken for granted, by persons of whatever bias, that this business must be surrounded with multiple restrictions. Hence the forbidding of sales to minors and on certain days and within certain hours and by persons with a criminal past. Hence the liquor commissions of various states. Hence the brewers' "foundations," maintained that they may make and keep the trade as respectable as possible. What can all this mean but that liquor is social dynamite fraught with peril to the public interest, a thing which can hope, at most, for a precarious toleration?

America's Sacred Cow

This being true, then in a great national crisis we shall, of course, clamp down on liquor first and most of all. In a day when legitimate businesses which require little or no policing or regulation are suffering daily deprivations, when taxes have skyrocketed, when Uncle Sam incessantly urges us to spend all the dimes and dollars we can spare on war stamps and war bonds, when the casualty lists grow longer—in such a day, of course, liquor, all liquor, will jolly well know there's a war!

But no. Practically everything else edible and potable is rationed. Yet if the brewers have been denied one pound of sugar, one can, one sack of grain, I have not heard of it. For liquor, the immemorial suspect, which only yesterday was our favorite whipping boy—liquor has become with us Americans a sacred cow.

The stupidity of this deference which we show liquor almost passes belief. It is ten years now since most of our present liquor laws were enacted, and the conditions which obtained then have been radically reversed by the war.

Changes During Ten Wet Years

In 1933 we were plagued with a crop surplus, in the sense that more crops were being raised than could be sold at a profit. So it could be argued that the manufacture of liquor should be legalized in order to stimulate the market for many crops. Well, the war has transformed a crop surplus into a crop shortage. Today millions of young Americans have ravenous appetites because of strenuous outdoor military training, and there is unavoidably much waste of food in the feeding of service men. Today America must partly feed three great peoples—Britons, Russians and Chinese—and many a precious cargo is being torpedoed. Today, and much more tomorrow, America must succor the famished peoples of the Axis-occupied countries. Yes, food is now a mighty military weapon and a great humanitarian instrumentality. Then what sense does it make not to curtail the

diversion of the hundreds of millions of pounds of barley, rice, fruits and berries now being converted into beer and wine?

In 1933 we were faced with a labor surplus, and it could be argued that repeal would create many new jobs. But the war has transformed a labor surplus into a labor shortage—a very grave manpower shortage. Well, every man engaged in the manufacture, transportation and sale of liquor is a man lost to the essential war occupations. Incidentally, the cargo space and the rubber now used to transport liquor are sorely needed for war.

In 1933 not even the most fanatical temperance advocate claimed that overindulgence in liquor jeopardized our very heritage of freedom. In 1943 the hardest-headed realist knows that overindulgence in liquor is jeopardizing that heritage. This is so for two reasons.

Sabotaging the War Effort

First, liquor and the new highly skilled mechanized warfare don't mix. Hence last July the commandant of the Lockbourne air base warned the city of Columbus that "something's got to be done right now" about liquor and dance halls. "In our business of teaching young men to fly," he said, "liquor is just as bad as prostitution." Second, liquor today menaces our heritage of freedom because it is doubtless a major factor in absenteeism in industry. A subcommittee of the House committee on naval affairs recently reported: "Throughout the nation, in the month of December alone, a total of 12,700,000 man-hours is estimated to have been lost through absenteeism in shipyards engaged in the construction and repair of naval vessels." The bureau of ships commented: "It will be noted that for only one month this is roughly 75 times the number of man-hours lost through strikes and shutdowns over the course of the whole year." And the evil grows worse steadily, adds the bureau, citing figures to prove it. Now, 40 per cent of this absence takes place on Saturdays and Mondays, according to the subcommittee, and sickness and accident play a negligible part. What part do the week-end drinking bouts play?

To the writer the anomaly that makes the least sense of all is that we let liquor be advertised. In 1933 the wettest wet, in arguing for repeal, never claimed that a taste for liquor is one which it is sound public policy to *encourage*. (That was why he freely conceded that the saloon must not be brought back—and solemnly promised that it would not be.) Yet most of us now take it for granted that the best advertising brains should devise slick sales talks for liquor delivery right in our living rooms, as well as advertisements which portray drinking so alluringly as to tempt the elect. With never a hint, of course, of liquor-made insanity, ill health, crime, accidents, pauperism, adultery and the like. Canada knows better. She has banned all liquor advertising.

Yet here and there signs appear that America may be getting set to throw off her paralysis. Bills sponsored by Senator Johnson of Colorado and Senator Capper of Kansas will, if passed, outlaw liquor advertising. General Marshall has ordered hard liquor out of officers' clubs. Mr. McNutt, no dry apostle, has announced that liquor dealers are in non-deferable occupations. The Office of War Information has vigorously denied having any part in a literary fraud perpetrated by the liquor people in publishing excerpts of an OWI report, interspersed with wet editorializing, in such a way that the whole document appeared to be an OWI release. A Gallup poll last September indicated that 38 per cent of our people favor a return to national prohibition—a gain of 18.8 per cent over a similar poll published only eight months before.

Personally I am opposed to another experiment in national prohibition unless and until there exists an overwhelming popular demand for it. What I urge is that liquor advertising be outlawed in war or peace; that the 3,200 counties of America be granted the right to vote out their liquor bars if they so desire (after all, we are fighting a war to vindicate the principle of self-determination) and that, for the duration, the liquor people be subjected to more severe rather than lighter deprivations than the rest of us—not in order to write a moral bias into the law but in the interests of sanity and victory.

BOOKS

Bright Lights out of Focus

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. THIRD SYMPOSIUM. *Edited by Lyman Bryson and Louis Finkelstein. Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., $3.00.*

THIS VOLUME consists of papers which were prepared for the conference that was held at Columbia University last August. Also included are parts of the discussions, a summary statement and plans for the next conference.

According to the summary statement, "the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion is an affirmation of faith by American scholars and men of letters in the durability and future of our civilization." If a child—or a conference—with a name as long as the full name of this conference can survive, no one should fear for the durability of our civilization. And if anyone of little faith is inspired by a consecutive reading of these affirmations, then the future of our civilization can be in no doubt. The book, like the full name of the conference, is long and disjointed.

The faults of the book are not the faults of the individual papers. The scattering effect is due to the failure of those who set up the conference to find a question to which specialists in many fields could address themselves with some assurance of coming within hailing distance of one another. Considered one by one or in groups of two or three, the papers are the kind that would be called good, standard, sometimes brilliant, contributions to the proceedings of various learned societies.

The philosophical articles, which fill the first 122 pages, are chiefly concerned with "the objective basis for value judgments." Philipp Frank shows that "for practical purposes the absolutist's attitude is not different from the attitude of the ethical relativist," a neat point well made. E. S.

Brightman explores some of the differences between normative knowledge of values and scientific knowledge. H. N. Russell clears up a confusion that Heisenberg unwittingly created when he used the phrase "uncertainty principle" instead of "the principle of limited measurability." Although Maximilian Beck objected to all the theses in this part of the conference except his own, most of the other critics were able to find something to appreciate. Good substantial papers, but taken *en masse* they reveal no new philosophical synthesis.

The papers of the second group deal with problems of education and public administration. Although the authors try to relate their discussions to the general objectives of the conference, the general objectives confer no very clear pattern upon the discussions. Lyman Bryson, looking beyond the armistice, repudiates a choice "between irresponsible charity and an American New Order." J. M. Clark echoes Mill's wish for a "political invention whereby the administrative arm of government can be strong enough to do what is needed and still be held properly responsible." Clark's paper on economic democracy contains many thought-provocations, such as the following: "At present we do not seem likely to find a magic formula whereby industry will promote [the objective of adequate employment] in spite of itself, while aiming primarily at something else. It seems to be the kind of thing history must aim at consciously and directly if the system is to promote it." David Lilienthal attacks the problem of unifying specialized knowledge in practical affairs. He reports that, with the TVA idea as a stated objective (increasing the income and productivity of the people of the Tennessee valley region), "it was interesting to observe the unity of response from the most widely varied groups of technicians."

The remaining papers on the rabbinic tradition, law, peace-making, music and art, and economic history maintain the quality level of the first sections; but they are even less concentrated in their subjects. One might well spend a day pondering many of the propositions, for instance, Karl Llewellyn's statement of the role of the law: "it is to offer institutional structure (constitutional provisions, courts), symbols and slogans (Bill of Rights, free speech, right to strike), and rearing machinery (schools) to make the ideals of the soberer man or moment have teeth even against the impulse of the more passionate moment or man." Or consider Robert MacIver's question: "We resent any foreign interference in our affairs—that is all very well, but we must ask once more: what then are our affairs?" There are other quotable and ponderable passages, including the quoted words of T. S. Eliot which, oddly enough, are the last words of the last paper.

Will the fourth Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion (may we call it CO-SPAR, for short?) produce more convergence of interest and wisdom? The directors of the conference hope so. To that end they have asked three questions which are to be answered from the viewpoint of the experts' special fields of experience: What kind of world would you like to see emerge in the next twenty-five years? What are the evils of our world? How would you be able to contribute to the development of a sense of global consciousness among our people? Pragmatists will probably bet that dispersion of ideas will afflict the conference as long as it continues to seek agreement in general ideas by *starting* with general ideas. It would be interesting to have such an assortment of talent focus their various lights on such questions as these: Should the "TVA idea" be extended to other regions in and out of the U.S.A.? To what extent should education everywhere (not merely in the Axis countries) be subject to international supervision? What are the implications of the Beveridge report?

I mention this possibility in order to show that there are two theories about the achievement of a cultural synthesis. According to one theory, specialists will find something common and general by uncovering their relation to one another in some specific enterprise. The theory followed by the conference managers is that specialists should all talk about the same generalities. The trouble with the latter theory is that most of the specialists pay homage to "democracy" or "respect for human dignity" and then depart, each to his own bailiwick.

WAYNE A. R. LEYS.

Books Received

God and Evil. By C.E.M. Joad. Harper, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

War and Education. By Porter Sargent. Porter Sargent, 11 Beacon St., Boston, $4.00. (To be reviewed.)

The Survival of Western Culture. By Ralph Tyler Flewelling. Harper, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

A Psychology of War and Peace. By Mark A. May. Yale University Press, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

Old Nameless, The Epic of a U.S. Battlewagon. By Sidney Shalett. D. Appleton-Century Co., $2.00. The heroes of the story are an unidentified battleship, presumably of the North Carolina class, and her commander, Captain T. G. Gatch. Between them, and with the assistance of an able crew, they brought down thirty-two enemy planes and sank three enemy ships in one battle in the Solomons. The story, pieced together from the narratives of participants, gives an intimate view of naval warfare in the southwest Pacific. The author's conclusion is that this vessel's exploits prove that the battleship is not extinct. Not that it can go it alone in a major engagement, but that modern warfare at sea requires combined operations in which the battleship is an important factor and not, as some air enthusiasts have declared, merely a clay pigeon for bombers to shoot at.

The Christian Philosophy of History. By Shirley Jackson Case. University of Chicago Press, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

Life Out There, A Story of Faith and Courage. By Johnny Bartek. Scribners, $1.75. This is the third book to come out of the experience of Eddie Rickenbacker and his companions during their three weeks on the raft. Sergeant Bartek was the man who had the New Testament and who, by all accounts, was the nucleus of the religious awakening. His father was a lay preacher in the Slovak Free Church. He himself is a Baptist, but certainly no bigot. "I was baptized in a Baptist church, but the way I look at it, like a lot of people say, they are Baptists, they are Catholics, they are Methodists, they are Episcopals, and what does it mean? It doesn't mean a thing to me. So the way I look at it, why not go to all the churches and find out what was in each one. Then join up with one, it don't matter which, and be a good Christian." Johnny's theological ideas are definite, even though elementary. "We prayed too hard to get picked up too soon. . . . I felt as though the Lord was just trying to let us suffer since we wanted to get picked up so bad. He made out that we should stay there because we were too hasty about getting picked up. He was building up faith in us." But the religious experience was very genuine. The story was dictated to a stenographer under the supervision of Austin Purdue, who edited it and added notes about the Bartek family and the text of the New Testament passages which were most read on the raft.

The Imitation of Christ, from the First Edition of an English Translation made c. 1530 by Richard Whitford. Edited by Edward J. Klein. Harper, $1.50. The Whitford translation has the rich redolence of early sixteenth century English. The spelling is here modernized to make it readily readable. Mr. Klein is among the foremost of contemporary students of the texts and versions of this classic. His rendering, which was published two years ago in a library edition and with a more extended introduction, is now presented in a beautifully designed little volume that will fit into

a small pocket. For those who want a copy of the *Imitation* to read and use, this is the one to buy.

The Church and International Reconstruction. By Visser 't Hooft. World Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, 15 cents.

Letters to Our Fighting Men. By C. Sverre Norborg. Treasure Chest Co., Chicago, 50 cents.

Credit Union Co-ops, Their Purpose and Use. By Anthony Lehner. Cooperative League of the U. S. A., 167 W. 12th St., New York, 10 cents.

CORRESPONDENCE

What Kind of Universe?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In commenting upon A. V. Curtis' letter, in the correspondence section of the May 19 issue of The Christian Century, a very able editorial writer states that my letter in the April 21 issue presented a most unintelligent analysis of the position of The Christian Century toward the war. While I am not disposed to quibble with the writer about the analysis, there is a question that remains in my thinking, even after reading the above-mentioned comment and after rereading the recent relevant editorials. Perhaps the editor can clarify it in a few sentences.

What kind of universe is it that thrusts a Christian—by past sins or by any conceivable "necessity"—into a position which not merely is incapable of being "justified," but in which he "acknowledges no obligation" to submit his actions to "any moral criterion such as the . . . moral teachings of Jesus or the ethical code of any civilized people"? In contrast to that, I would assert that either a Christian at all times acknowledges the validity of Christ's moral principles *in his own actions,* or there is no ethical difference between a Christian and a pagan.

You speak of "fighting repentantly" under a necessity which recognizes no ethical law or religious principle. But does not repentance become a rather academic matter if it leaves the repentant doomed to disregard the demands of his faith in the most crucial areas of his present life?

Charlotte, N. C. HOWARD C. WILKINSON.

[Mr. Wilkinson's letter fully confirms our expressed opinion that, in his letter published in our issue of April 21, he had only momentarily "slid off" the pedestal of critical intelligence on which we choose to address our readers. He comes back not only without complaint at our perhaps too drastic comment, but with a question which reveals the capacity as well as the earnestness of his mind. This question is the theme of our editorial in this issue. We wish here only to correct our correspondent's statement that our position on war "recognizes no ethical law *or religious principle.*" This is a mistake. We affirm, on the contrary, that while the Christian's war problem cannot be solved by an ethical law, it can be solved by a "religious principle," that is, by what Mr. Wilkinson calls "the demands of his faith." Christian repentance is more than an "ethical law," it is a "religious principle." See the editorial, "What Kind of Universe?" on page 710.—THE EDITORS.]

Prayers and Harvests

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: On this Rogation Sunday I have been haunted by Christ's words, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me," and I have asked myself: Dare we hope that God will answer our prayers for an abundant harvest for ourselves when we are deliberately withholding food from our fellow men—not only from those whom we call our enemies (though in God's sight we are all one family) but from our friends and allies who have suffered bitterly for the cause for which we profess to be fighting this war, by the use of that most cruel and inhuman weapon, the food blockade, which hits hardest not the armies but the innocent and helpless children, old folks and invalids? If we are concerned that our country maintain the tradition of Christianity, how can we shut our eyes to such flagrant denial of the implications of Christian discipleship?

Orangeburg, N. Y. KATHLEEN W. SAYRE.

Rebuttal

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The Christian Century says: "Scherer attacks neo-orthodoxy." (Report of Lyman Beecher lectures.) Rebuttal: "Scherer does not attack neo-orthodoxy." I suppose I did have about ten sentences on that subject, but concluded by saying that it was the white hope nevertheless!

Church of the Holy Trinity, PAUL SCHERER.
New York, N. Y.

The Navy and the Seminaries

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I enclose a copy of the resolution I offered at the meeting of the Fairfield county association of churches and ministers on May 18 anent the navy plan of educating its own chaplains. It was passed without dissent.

Congregational Church, MERRILL F. CLARKE.
New Canaan, Conn.

[ENCLOSURE]

"This association has been informed of the plan by the Bureau of Navy Personnel to direct from high school age the education of navy chaplains, under naval discipline and at government expense. We wish to register our disapproval of the proposal. We cite the following reasons, which are only the chief among many:

"(1) The plan involves a contractual relation between our theological seminaries and government which is plainly contrary to the cherished independence of the seminaries and of the churches which have started and maintained them.

"(2) The plan involves every candidate for navy chaplaincies in a financial dependence on government which cannot help molding his views and will tend to make him, when commissioned, an official of government as much as a spiritual teacher and leader of men. This is not our standard of a chaplain's service.

"(3) The college years proposed are to begin with the navy's college training program, with navy pay and naval discipline. Although free within limits to choose his college, the candidate must take a navy-approved college course. This is wholly contrary to liberal education and to the independence of the American student for the ministry to study where and what he will. No prophets are likely to appear out of such constraints. If the navy does not want prophets, the church is commanded to 'quench not the Spirit.'

"(4) We are aware that the American Association of Theological Schools has approved the entire plan. We are gravely concerned at this. The seminaries are left free to determine the strictly theological preparation of the candidate, but required to squeeze the accepted three years into two. The seminaries are free to teach, but must accept men whose college courses have been prescribed by the navy, which is not an educational institution. The seminaries are free to teach, but the student for a navy chaplaincy is to be during his course under navy discipline. All this is a strange departure from the hard-won liberties of American education and theological preparation. The churches can serve freedom and government best by no such commitment to any arm of government."

Antidote to Nonsense

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The article by Dr. Sollmann, "German Labor—Hitler's Nemesis," is a fine antidote to much that is being said now, most of it nonsense, about punishment and re-education in Germany. Dr. Sollmann's paper should have a helpful influence.

Philadelphia, Pa. RICHARD R. WOOD.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Urge Religious Unity in Peace

Denver Conference Declares Churches Must Unite for Peace—Kershner Asks for Food for Europe

(Correspondence from Colorado)

DENVER, June 5.—A "Win the Peace as We Win the War" conference was recently conducted in Denver. High schools, colleges, universities and community church meetings heard its speakers. Since many church groups have formulated peace plans, the conference decided that it is urgently necessary for all religious-minded people to unite now on a common platform for common action to insure the winning of the peace. It was therefore resolved to issue a call for (1) the formulation of a set of principles acceptable to all religious groups; (2) the establishment of a committee comprised of Catholics, Protestants and Jews to draw up this common formula; (3) the preparation of an adequate program of popular education in the principles thus enunciated. Father Edward Conway of Regis College has been invited by the Church Peace Union to attend a meeting of Catholics, Protestants and Jews to be held in Toronto, June 9-11, when the Denver plan for religious unity in the peace will be discussed.

* * *

Kershner Pleads for Food for Starving

Howard E. Kershner, director of relief in Europe for the American Friends Service Committee, 1939-42, was the speaker before an interfaith mass meeting in the municipal auditorium on May 30. Mr. Kershner has seen an appalling amount of starvation in Spain, Greece and France. His vivid story does not spare the Axis, the United States or Great Britain. It seems that we are too busy with the war, he said, to prevent the starving of children and the aged in these countries whose people are ground under the oppressor's heel. Yet agencies ready to feed them are at hand, if only permission were given to do so. "I have seen villages in France," said Mr. Kershner, "where 40 per cent of the children had tuberculosis, and 30 per cent more were in the pre-tubercular stage." He argued that common humanity, or even common sense, should cause us to answer the cry of the dying.

* * *

Urges Equality in New World

Caleb F. Gates, Jr., chancellor of the University of Denver, in his baccalaureate address reminded the students of the new kind of world into which they are to go. He told them they would have to meet the other peoples of the world "on a basis of equality, not of condescension." He said that the dignity of the individual was about the only rock upon which they could find footing in the days of uncertainty ahead. He indicated that Russia had surprised most of us and that her people are strong because of their faith in the common man.

* * *

Denver Gives Quick Cure for Venereal Disease

Dr. Walter Clark, executive director of the American Social Hygiene Association, was the leading speaker before the Denver public health council and the American Social Hygiene Association. He declared that 80 per cent of venereal disease cases can be cured in 15 days, provided they are caught in early stages. He stated that there are but 22 rapid-treatment centers in the United States and that the Denver General hospital is one of them. At this conference Denver's good record on army health was praised.

* * *

Bishop Wants Religion At Peace Table

Fred Ingley, bishop of the Colorado diocese of the Episcopal Church, addressed the opening session of Colorado Episcopalians in St. John's Cathedral recently. He said: "I am convinced that at the next peace table the unequivocal voice of religion must be heard, else we may expect another Versailles fiasco. The global strategy which confronts us today summons the church to her greatest opportunity and to her gravest responsibility. Only a strong church will be equal to the task." A visitor at the sessions was Bishop Irving P. Johnson, for many years before his retirement a leader in Colorado. His home is now in Minneapolis.

* * *

And So Forth

The Denver ministerial alliance recently elected W. Scott McMunn of the First United Presbyterian Church as president for the coming year.

The United Lutheran Synod, with delegates from four states, in a recent meeting in Messiah Lutheran Church re-elected Elmer Harner of St. Paul's Lutheran Church as president.

The Baptists of the Rocky Mountain association in a recent meeting heard W. E. Woodbury of New York and C. W. Gawthrop of San Francisco.

William Crisp, recently graduated from Iliff School of Theology, has become pastor of the First Congregational Church of Montrose. CLARENCE W. KEMPER.

Wilson Heads United Presbyterians

W. Bruce Wilson of Pittsburgh, Pa., was elected moderator of the United Presbyterian Church by its 85th General Assembly, which met at New Wilmington, Pa.

Bishop Freeman Dies at 76

James E. Freeman, Protestant Episcopal bishop of Washington since 1923, died on June 6 at his home near the famous Washington Cathedral which he built. He had been in failing health for several months. A native of New York, Bishop Freeman worked as a railroad accountant for several years before entering the ministry.

Labor Hails Ban On the Comintern

Britons Gratified with New Communist Policy—Macmurray Points to the Failure of the Churches

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, May 25.—There was always something artificial about the "Anti-Comintern Axis." The first observation which many must have made during the last week end was that the Axis could no longer be "anti" an internationale which no longer existed. The news has certainly been received here without regret that the Third Internationale has dissolved. Its existence has not loomed as a serious factor in this country in recent times, but without any question the British people, Labor no less than other parties, have been suspicious of the international Communist organization and jealous of any interference which might come from it in the political life of this nation. At the present time it is recognized that the dissolution of the Third Internationale sets the seal upon the change, which is traced to the mind of Stalin, from the earlier Marxism with its slogan, "Workers of the world, unite! You have only your chains to lose," to the present policy of Russia in which communism is held as a principle as firmly as ever, but the Union of Soviet Republics does not take it as its duty to spread communism by forcible means into other countries. No official announcement has been made from the Labor party; but it is evident that both for the purpose of winning the war and for the work of the party at home the decision is received with lively satisfaction. It will of course make differences in the relations between Labor and the British Communist party but it is too early to say what these will be.

* * *

Breaking of Dams A Heavy Blow

The breaking of the dams in the Ruhr was in all probability the most serious blow yet dealt to the German war machine. Day and night the R.A.F. are busy. From the Mediterranean we heard day by day the story of attacks upon the bastions of Italy. . . . In other times we should have had enough romance for one week in the return of the "jungle commando" from Burma, and the discovery in General Wingate of a man of the "old heroic breed," daring and unorthodox in his methods and, though moving in different ways, with much of the spirit of Lawrence of Arabia. General Wingate is said to have espoused the cause of the Jews with the fervor of a saint. He has lived through many adventures already, one of which ended when he marched in triumph through Addis Ababa. . . . Empire Day was kept according to custom on May 24. . . . On the home front it has been discovered, as it was during the last war, that excessive hours of work, so far from causing

a rise of production, result in smaller output than that obtained with shorter hours. The publication of a white paper shows that the government have decided to review the hours of work of young people between 16 and 18, as well as the traveling they have to do.

* * *

Macmurray Believes the Churches Have Failed

In a masterly article in the *Friend,* John Macmurray answers the question, What liberties can be allowed in a planned state? by a careful analysis of what "planning" involves. The answer is that we can allow "all liberties in a planned state which are compatible with the existence of planning." After showing what the minimum is—"the government should be made responsible for organizing the economic activities of the nation as a whole and should be given the powers necessary for them"—he comes to the conclusion that "if we are to have planning there must be created a fundamental unity of inner values to match and motivate the outer unity of planned energy." To create and sustain this inner unity is a religious task. Are the traditional religious societies willing to carry the burden of unifying modern culture? Or, as Mr. Macmurray thinks more likely, "are they incapable of understanding, expressing and inculcating the unity of practical values by which our contemporary civilization must live?" If they are, they will sink into insignificance and the modern state will be compelled against its will to attempt the religious task for which it is singularly unfitted. This is the dilemma as this thinker sees it. "It has been produced by the failure of the churches. It can be solved only by a revolution in contemporary religion."

* * *

Coventry Churches Still Support Missions

The steadfastness of the churches under fire is illustrated in the city of Coventry. As all the world knows that city suffered three large-scale air raids of a devastating character. How the churches were no less firm is told by Leslie E. Cooke. Where churches were destroyed or damaged, their members without delay grouped themselves in the buildings left. Congregations were gathered again, and organization recommenced. The district association began a survey of the assets of the churches, in plots of land for future building and in actual money in hand for such work. Their adversities have led these "saints in Coventry" to make this time the occasion for a closer fellowship. Mr. Cooke, writing in the L.M.S. *Chronicle,* adds these words: "Behind these facts, too, lies the deep experience of God's power and grace and guidance which we have known during these past years. We do not wax eloquent to one another about this, but those who come into our midst know it and realize it. We look back upon the dark days and months, and we know that God has been with us." And in the midst of their blitzed city these people are preparing for their part in the new advance of the London Missionary Society. On one Sunday after a raid 30 worshipers were met in one church. They took an offering, as their custom was, for the work of their missionary society in other lands of the world.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Wreck of Homes Feared in East

Growing Delinquency Highlights Issue of Mothers in Industry—Churches Organize Retreat for Clergy

(Correspondence from New England)

PROVIDENCE, R. I., May 28.—Pressure of war work and complex war conditions which have overtaxed many community facilities have produced serious problems in this area, particularly in regard to juvenile delinquency. Capt. Rhoda J. Milliken, director of the women's bureau of the metropolitan district police, Washington, D. C., speaking before the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Society for Social Hygiene in Boston, urged that a community group cope with the problem. Boston's five policewomen could not handle the situation alone, she said, and pointed out that it was the duty of parents to maintain care of their children. One special problem, she declared, rises from the fact that "14- and 15-year-old girls aren't being invited to take part in anything. They are little girls who have ceased to be little girls and who feel that they have particularly been left out of the war effort."

* * *

Report Growth of Social Diseases

The state committee on social protection services has reported to the state council of defense that there is in Rhode Island a growing problem of prostitution. Providence police report that of 179 girls picked up between March 1 and Oct. 14 of last year, 105 were between 14 and 20 years of age. Syphilis is on the increase in several parts of the state.

* * *

Women Urged to Discard Overalls

Mothers who are tempted to do defense work should first see to it that their children are properly cared for, declare social agencies in the Providence and Boston areas. The kitchen apron is as important as factory overalls. William R. Clark, professor of sociology at Providence College, has urged "mothers in overalls" to go back to the nursery. "It is hard to see," he said, "that the manpower shortage is so acute that future generations should be endangered by allowing mothers to neglect their children."

* * *

Authorities Worried over Rush to Factories

Joseph Galkin, chairman of the Providence council of social agencies' committee on women in industry, declared that to have too many women in industry might break down the very values for which we are fighting. Theodore A. Lothrop, executive secretary of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, pointed out recently that by January of this year there were 231,000 Massachusetts mothers of school-age children in war work, 69,500 of them having pre-school or grammar-school children. Of 1,700 children tested, 85 per cent needed additional care to prevent delinquency. He calls it "misdirected patriotic zeal to urge such people to engage in war work." Franklin W. L. Miles, presiding justice of the municipal court of Roxbury, Mass., finds a 14 per cent increase in delinquency among girls since 1941.

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Maine Church Council Sponsors Retreats

Through its committees on evangelism and the devotional life the Maine council of churches conducted a retreat for ministers on Fisherman's island off Boothbay harbor. The 23rd annual session of the eastern Maine summer school of religious education will meet during the fourth week of June at the State Normal School, Machias. Ellis J. Holt, Auburn, chairman of the council's committee on leadership education, will be dean.

* * *

Greater Portland Council Aids Defense Workers

Through Earle B. Pleasant, executive secretary, the Greater Portland (Me.) council of churches has strongly attacked the problems created by the numbers of defense workers in the area. It has a united youth council, with monthly parties and discussions. A Douglass survey of social, economic and religious conditions has brought in five new workers from the state council to aid in the activities. A complete church directory has been published and a school of religion as well as a defense vacation school has been held.

* * *

Russell J. Clinchy Visits England

Russell J. Clinchy, pastor of Center Congregational Church, Hartford, Conn., is studying needs for relief in stricken and evacuated areas in England. His visit is being made at the request of the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Congregational Committee for War Victims. He will also seek to interpret American church thought regarding postwar reconstruction and to ascertain British views on this subject.

* * *

And So Forth

Chaplain Kenneth C. MacArthur of Camp Devens, Mass., in cooperation with the Federal Council department of evangelism, held a preaching mission at the camp May 9-14. The speakers included Jesse M. Bader, C. Jeffares McCombe, John Sutherland Bonnell, and Harold Cockburn of the Church of Scotland and the British Ministry of Information.

The Rhode Island council of churches is establishing a church hospitality center at 38 Dorrance street, Providence. Roy J. Schramm, pastor of the Kingston Congregational Church, is director. This information center will be open to service men and women and civilian defense workers.

RICHARD K. MORTON.

Pamphlet on Feeding European Children Available

The Portland office of the National Council for the Prevention of War has available for free distribution "S.O.S. for Europe's Children," a 4-page pamphlet advocating immediate feeding, written by Tracy D. Mygatt. Requests for copies should be sent J. J. Handsaker, 602 Stock Exchange Bldg., Portland, Ore.

Pressure Closes Montreal Halls

Catholic Groups Raise the Free Speech Issue by Blocking Meetings to be Addressed by Communist

(Correspondence from Montreal)

MONTREAL, May 25.—A "Citizens' Committee to Defend the Four Freedoms" has been formed here following the suppression of a May Day rally that was to have been held in the hall of the city-owned Atwater Market. Headed by John Kerry, K.C., the committee includes prominent writers, clergymen and labor leaders, and has already sent a deputation to Ottawa to bring the matter to the attention of various members of Parliament.

Tim Buck, the Communist leader who was released from internment a few months ago, is now secretary of the Workers' Total War Committee. In that capacity he was scheduled to speak at this May Day rally. On the day of the meeting the Montreal city executive, two members dissenting, withdrew permission to use the hall, which is city property. The city executive acted under pressure from a delegation made up of representatives from the St. Jean-Baptiste Society, the Catholic Commercial Travelers' Association, the Young Catholic Workers, the Young Catholic Association, the Student Youth Association and the Catholic Labor Syndicate. These spokesmen for a French-Canadian bloc which has been apathetic to the Canadian war effort asked the city executive to suppress the meeting on the grounds that it would provoke disorder. Director of Police Dufresne is reported to have commented, "I don't think there will be any trouble unless you people go there to make it." However, the meeting was not allowed.

* * *

Sports Arena Secured; Then Barred

The Citizens' Committee to Defend the Four Freedoms, which was then formed, made arrangements to rent Montreal's great sports arena, the Forum, for a meeting on Sunday afternoon, May 16. While disavowing agreement with Mr. Buck's politics, the committee invited him to appear on the platform as a demonstration of the right of all to freedom of speech. The Forum management rented their building subject to the approval of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, but an officer of the R.C.M.P. stated that this matter did not fall under their jurisdiction. First notice of objection to the meeting came on May 13 when the *Montreal Daily Star* refused an advertisement for it on the ground that the police had stated that the meeting would not take place. Later Manager Tommy Gorman of the Forum wrote to say that the arena could not be rented for that date "due to technical difficulties." Senator Donat Raymond, president of the Forum Company, refused to reverse this decision.

* * *

Carry Free Speech Issue To Parliament

Leslie Roberts, prominent Montreal author, then prepared a manuscript for use

Thought-kindling Thought!

RELIGION IN LIFE

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The Summer Number **Now Ready!**

The pages of this Christian Quarterly are lighted with the steady flame of eager thought. Informed and aware, the trained minds of the distinguished contributors explore vital areas in literature, sociology, homiletics, philosophy, and theology. An unwavering sense of religious values gives direction to the mind-fire here disclosed, illuminating topics to which no intelligent Christian can be indifferent.

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What do the names by which Jesus was known—particularly the title "Lord of Life"—reveal concerning his outlook and religion?

RETHINKING THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH — Samuel McCrea Cavert
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in a radio announcement, as there was no other way of letting people know that the Forum meeting had been canceled. The script passed the censor, but station CFCF refused time on the air on the ground that the station did not wish to be drawn into a controversy that had reference to the city executive. So a deputation journeyed to Ottawa last week to put the whole matter before several members of Parliament, who have promised to inquire into the application of Defense of Canada regulations in the province of Quebec. In the meantime the citizens' committee is planning a conference on the Four Freedoms for June 2 in the Czechoslovakian National Hall here.

* * *

Presbyterian General Assembly to Consider Theological Training

The annual meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada will be held in St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, beginning June 2 and continuing for a week or more. Among those nominated by presbyteries for the office of moderator are Dr. H. Beverley Ketchen, minister of MacNab Street Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, and Dr. N. R. D. Sinclair, Allandale, Ont., who is clerk of the presbytery of Barrie. Some 40 overtures and petitions from the 46 presbyteries of the church will be considered. A report of the Foundation Fund, by which a laymen's committee is striving to raise $500,000 to put the Presbyterian Church in Canada on a sound financial basis, will be presented, and should occasion some debate, as strong exception has been taken by some ministers and elders to the scheme by which the appeal for funds was made, through the medium of an advertising agency. The committee appointed at the last General Assembly to investigate conditions in the two theological colleges at Toronto and Montreal will submit its findings. A proposal to establish a faculty of divinity at McGill University will be considered. The retiring moderator is Dr. Norman MacLeod.

* * *

McGill Principal Prophesies Religious Revival

Dr. F. Cyril James, principal of McGill University, in his baccalaureate address last Sunday prophesied that Christianity is on the threshold of a great revival. Denying that the progress of science during the 19th century had brought on a decline in the Christian religion, Dr. James said: "It is worth while for us to remember at this moment that the irreligion of the Roman Church during the early period of the Renaissance provoked not only the religious revivals led by Martin Luther and John Calvin, but the equally powerful religious force that was generated from the teachings and work of Ignatius Loyola. I think we are on the threshold of such a revival of Christianity at the present time."

* * *

And So Forth

When meat rationing comes into effect in Canada on May 27 it promises some problems in mathematics to housewives, for while two coupons per person are provided each week, there are four classes of meat. Group A is worth ¼ lb. per coupon, B ⅜ lb. per coupon, C 1 lb. per coupon, and D 1¼ lb. per coupon. The various coupon values are based on the bone content of cuts. Oxtail, wieners, cooked meat loaves, etc., are not rationed. DECOURCY H. RAYNER.

Generals Praise Hawaiian Civilians

Commend Attitude During Martial Law —Japanese-Americans Volunteer by Thousands When Asked

(Correspondence from Hawaii)

HONOLULU, May 29.—Fifteen months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, many of the governmental functions carried on by the military governor were returned to civilian officials. The declaration of martial law in the territory on Dec. 7, 1941, came at the request of the civilian governor under terms of a law passed by the legislature in its 1941 session. Now it is ended. Never in the history of a nation had martial law been established over so large an area, or over one containing so many people. Never before on American soil has such a government continued in existence for so long a time. The civilian community's complete cooperation with the army and navy in defense of the territory, together with the representations of the new civilian governor, I. M. Stainback, and the territorial attorney general, Garner Anthony, brought about this restoration of civilian rights. On all hands there is praise for the efficient administration of Lieut. Gen. Delos C. Emmons, military governor and commander of the army forces in Hawaii. But General Emmons and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander in chief of the Pacific fleet, have also praised unstintedly the loyalty and concerted efforts of the population of all racial backgrounds.

* * *

General Thanks Civilians

Speaking for the commanding general, Major Gen. H. T. Bergen said: "The military took over and operated these islands. In doing that the military government had the cooperation of everyone—the army and navy, territorial authorities, big business, little business and, best of all, the wholehearted support and loyalty of the civilian population. The military governor wishes to thank the entire population of these islands, especially the civilian population."

* * *

Japanese-Americans Volunteer

As an illustration of the general attitude, in the latest war bond campaign Hawaii again exceeded its quota, being the only state or territory that has exceeded its quota each month since these campaigns began. Another evidence of enthusiastic loyalty and cooperativeness has been seen in the volunteering of Americans of Japanese ancestry. During the one month of registration, 9,507 offered themselves for training in a combat unit for overseas duty with the army. (There are 25,000 Japanese-descended male citizens of military age in Hawaii.) The original quota was 1,500, but 2,588 were inducted because of the large registration.

* * *

Liberal Race Policy Is Vindicated

On March 29, at a public ceremony in front of the Iolani palace, this group of nearly 2,600 Japanese-descended Americans was given a rousing send-off by a crowd of 15,000. A large number of those present to bid *aloha* were relatives of the boys, but there were also many others representing a cross section of the community. Major Gen. Briant H. Wells, U. S. army retired, was chairman of the committee on arrangements for the program. He congratulated the volunteers and cited the excellent record made by the A.J.A. troops, formerly at Camp McCoy, Wis., and now at Camp Shelby. He said that the eagerness of these young citizens to volunteer for combat service should convince doubting Thomases of the loyalty to the United States of Japanese-Americans. Speaker of the House Vitousek declared that the A.J.A. volunteers have justified the liberal policies of this territory regarding racial matters. "You have shown that the people of these islands, although of many varied racial strains, are amalgamated as one," he said.

* * *

People Proud of Their Trust

The editor of the daily afternoon newspaper, commenting editorially, wrote that the most significant aspect of the whole occasion was "the evident pride of the families and friends of these young Americans —their pride that their youths are entrusted with the patriotic mission of fighting for their country and the allied nations." The attitude of Americans of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii contrasts rather sharply with the reports which come from the relocation centers on the mainland. A Honolulu-born young man wrote recently, "One reason for the apparent contrast is the difference in treatment of Americans of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii and on the mainland." He states that the life of the latter group has been violently disrupted. They have been treated not only as suspects but as dangerous residents. They have been shut up in camps where they have been guarded day and night. They have been inactive for months. Under such a system, he says, it is inevitable that they should become apathetic and should have a feeling of grievance. The editor of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* expresses the opinion that apathy is probably a better explanation of the reported 24 per cent of positive "disloyalty" among the young citizens in the relocation centers. "A year of enforced idleness has dulled the mind and made the body slothful. A year of discouragement has blunted some sensibilities. This is nothing new in concentration camps. It is the usual result. All races are susceptible to it."

* * *

Attack Nazi Racial Policy in U. S.

Five well known former Hawaii residents now on the administrative staff at the war relocation project at Poston, Ariz., submitted to the Senate military affairs subcommittee investigating the centers a careful appraisal of the situation within the camps. The statement described in detail the living conditions at Poston and denied that the treatment afforded the internees could be described as pampering them. It stressed the fact that a large proportion of the internees "belong to us," that is, are American citizens, and urged that more effort be made to distinguish between Japanese of militaristic Japan and loyal American citizens of Japanese ancestry. The investigators urged that the OWI embark upon a comprehensive program to

combat the anti-Japanese-American propaganda spread by race egoists who cloak their fascist prejudices in wartime patriotism. They deplored the present efforts of some states to deprive people of Japanese ancestry of American citizenship and to deny them land ownership and the right to interracial marriage, pointing out that such efforts really parallel the attitudes of nazism toward the Jews. One of the signers of this statement is Miles E. Cary, for years principal of a large public high school in Honolulu.

* * *

Regulate Hawaii's Foreign Language Schools

Our legislature recently enacted a law regulating our foreign language schools. Even before the legislature met, trustees of the various language schools in the territory had been conferring on the disposition of the building and grounds of several of them. One such school, representing assets of approximately $25,000, was turned over to the Honolulu Y.M.C.A. for community work of various types. This is only one of a number of schools that have dissolved and transferred their assets to the various community groups. Another such school, with an appraised value of $40,000, turned over its assets to the neighboring public school. Still another has given free use of its buildings and grounds for the duration as a community center under a community council, organized some ten months before the outbreak of the war. It is expected that this school and its entire assets will be turned over to the community within the next few months.

GALEN R. WEAVER.

Holds Negro Is Bound in North

Bishop Bray Tells Council of Colored Church Leaders That Discrimination is Spreading over Whole Nation

(Correspondence from Memphis)

MEMPHIS, May 24.—Many of the nation's outstanding Negro leaders in religion, education and public service attended the annual meeting of the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches recently held in Memphis. Eleven denominations with a combined membership of more than 6,000,000 met to discuss "Organizing the Negro Churches for Postwar Society." In the president's annual address Bishop J. A. Bray declared: "This is not a political organization. It does not affect the internal polity, theology or conduct of any denomination or local church. It is a cooperative enterprise seeking to bring together the divided forces of the Negro churches in a united effort to improve the civic, economic and social status of the race, and to make less difficult the application of the principle of brotherhood and the elimination of all forms of discrimination in the national life where the Negro and other minority groups are concerned."

* * *

Negro Not Free Anywhere

"At no period in American history," the bishop continued, "has it been more imperative than now that effective and long-range planning be made on behalf of Negro Americans. For no matter how seriously it may be contended that Jimcrowism, segregation and other racial wrongs should be left to the south for solution, the inescapable fact is that the color question ceases to be a sectional matter. By the very pressure of the times it becomes in scope a national and international concern. How free is a man who cannot go where other men go or work where other men work, because he is of a different color? There can be no blinking the fact that now in the north, almost as in the south, anti-discrimination laws, disguised though they may be, operate against the Negro as effectively as they do in the south."

* * *

President Urged to Veto Pending Legislation

The council condemned the court in Mississippi for finding no one guilty in the recent lynching trial case, and wired President Roosevelt urging him to veto the legislation, if passed, restraining farmers from leaving one place for another. The protest was based on the grounds that "it interferes with the farmers' constitutional rights."

The same national officers were retained: Bishop Bray, president; Bishop R. C. Ransom, president emeritus; Horace White, vice-president; J. H. Moore, secretary; W. H. Jernagin, chairman, executive board; Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., executive secretary; V. M. Townsend, treasurer; Arthur W. Womack, chairman, bureau of publicity. An office is to be established in Washington, D. C., with Dr. Jernagin as

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For further information address

National Committee to Oppose the Conscription of Women

MRS. MILDRED SCOTT OLMSTED, Director, 1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia

Send Contributions to defeat conscriptive legislation to

A. J. MUSTE, *Treasurer*, 2929 Broadway, New York

MRS. ALLAN K. CHALMERS **DR. GEORGIA HARKNESS** **MRS. HENRY HILL PIERCE**

Co-chairmen

full-time director of its activities, which are to be accelerated.

* * *

Pacifist Minister Leaves Methodist Pulpit

Quoting the words, "Thou shalt not kill," Rev. John L. Roach walked from his pulpit and left Ellendale Methodist Church on Easter Sunday. In his Palm Sunday sermon he had expressed his conviction as a conscientious objector. He was relieved of the Ellendale charge at his own request the day after Easter. Dr. C. C. Grimes, superintendent of the Memphis district of the Methodist Church, said he understood that Mr. Roach had applied for membership in the Quakers. "He merely stated that he was out of sympathy with the Methodist Church in his belief as a pacifist and asked to be relieved of his appointment, which I did," said Dr. Grimes.

* * *

Dean Price Elected to Head LeMoyne

Mayor Walter M. Chandler will give the commencement address at LeMoyne College. President Brownlee delivered the baccalaureate sermon to the 42 graduates. For the first time in its 73-year history, LeMoyne College has a Negro president. Trustees announced the election of Dean Hollis F. Price, to become president Sept. 1. He will succeed Fred L. Brownlee.

* * *

Church Hampered in Building Plans by Two Wars

The historic Church of the Good Shepherd, halted in its building plans at its very beginning by the Civil War and curtailed now in an expansion program because of a global war, has formally opened the first unit of a proposed new building many blocks removed from its original building site. Guy Usher is rector. Vernon W. Lane, former rector, is now head of Gailor Hall, a home for dependent boys. He is raising $75,000 in a city-wide campaign to buy a farm home for his boys. Mary Pickford came to Memphis at her own expense to talk for the project at the "kick-off" dinner which had an attendance of 685. This writer is chairman of the Gailor Hall board of management.

* * *

New Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi Consecrated

In Mississippi, Duncan M. Gray, rector of the Church of the Nativity, Greenwood, became Mississippi's fifth Episcopal bishop on May 12 with an impressive consecration service in St. Andrew's Church, Jackson. He succeeds Bishop Green, who died last November. The consecration sermon, delivered by the Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman, bishop of Kentucky, included a warning that the current war can become one of greed even on the part of those seeking peace and security if those ends are sought at the expense of others. Chief consecrator was the Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker of Virginia, presiding bishop, who was assisted by the Rt. Rev. Theodore Dubose Bratton, retired bishop of Mississippi, who confirmed Bishop Gray; and the Rt. Rev. Richard Bland Mitchell, bishop of Arkansas. MARSHALL WINGFIELD.

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A. F. of L. Bans Discrimination

Southern Unions Abolish Racial Bars—Negroes Debate Segregation Policy—Progress Expected Slowly

(Correspondence from Tennessee)

NASHVILLE, June 2.—The American Federation of Labor reports that it now has 360,000 Negro members in the southern states. The C.I.O. forbids racial discrimination; the A.F. of L. is now following suit. At a recent all-south convention held in Atlanta and attended by some 5,000 delegates, the question of segregation was disposed of by seating the colored delegates on the right side of the main floor. There was hearty response to a leading delegate's statement that his union had "taken the Negro by the hand and pulled him out of the ditch. We had to. If we hadn't, he would have caught us by the coattails and pulled us into the ditch with him." An outstanding victory for unionism in the south was won by the switchmen's union in an election ordered by the NLRB for the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co., long one of the most bitter enemies of unionism. The election resulted in a 56-to-1 victory for the switchmen.

* * *

Appeal Conviction For Picketing

The Alabama supreme court has upheld the conviction of Roy E. Raley, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, who with 60 others was arrested for picketing construction jobs where union workers were not employed. The court of appeals had sent the problem up to the state supreme court with the statement that they believed unconstitutional the law which defined as conspiracy any combination to prevent one from carrying on any lawful business. An appeal will be made to the federal Supreme Court.

* * *

Labor Organizers Terrorized by Anti-Union Gangsters

The Workers Defense League reports that two organizers, one white and one colored, attempting to organize a lumber company in Vicksburg, were kidnaped, handcuffed to a tree and severely beaten after being held in jail for 24 hours without food. The NLRB had ordered an election but the organizers were arrested and placed in jail without any charge and then delivered by the jailer into the hands of the kidnapers. This case resembles closely one at Harriman, Tenn., some months ago concerning which no progress has been made in convicting the guilty.

* * *

U. S. Probes Peonage

The federal department of justice has under investigation 30 cases in the south in which peonage is charged. It is proceeding under the 13th amendment to the Constitution. A Florida grand jury has indicted the U. S. Sugar Corporation, also a turpentine plantation owner. In Corpus Christi, Texas, sentences of four and two years, respectively, were imposed by a federal grand

jury upon a white man and his daughter convicted of peonage. A federal grand jury in Macon, Ga., has indicted two county and one city law officers as violators of civil liberty statutes in a lynching case.

* * *

Oppose Imported Farm Labor

Both the farmers' union and the two tenant unions are vigorously opposing the effort to destroy the Farm Security Administration and to annul the rules governing the importation of farm labor from Mexico and the West Indies. In the case of imported farm labor, county farm agents are given large authority. The more progressive unions charge that these agents are so tied in with the conservative—if not reactionary—farm bureau in the south that the destruction of the FSA and of the contracts for imported labor would play into the hands of the larger plantation owners and against the interest of tenants and sharecroppers. The provision that an imported laborer cannot leave the county in which he is located without the consent of the farm agency is built on the same pattern as the laws in ten states which forbid labor recruiting by any organization that takes workers outside the state.

* * *

Negroes Debate Segregation

In a state-wide meeting of Negro organizations in Texas, a hot debate followed a resolution to affirm the Durham statement made recently by a large council of southern Negro leaders and accepted by a like meeting of progressive white leaders in Atlanta. The Texas meeting refused to accept the segregation resolutions of the Durham conference, which deplored segregation but acknowledged that for the present at least progress for the Negro people of the south would have to be built upon it as an established custom which the whites would refuse to abolish. The *Black Dispatch,* an able Negro weekly of Oklahoma City, opposes this basis of procedure but approves the rest of the program.

* * *

Segregation to Yield Slowly

The governor of Alabama is offering $100,000 to Tuskegee Institute on condition that he be allowed to appoint six white trustees. An effort in Jacksonville, Fla., to pass a mandatory segregation law was opposed by the governor and defeated by the help of ministers led by Rufus Wicker. The white south will not, as the Atlanta conference reminded the colored leaders, abolish segregation, but can be led to modify it. Several southern railroads now provide Pullman service for colored passengers. Military training classes at both Fort Sill, Okla., and Fort Benning, Ga., have trained white and colored troops together. However, there seems to be a doubt regarding the extension of equal justice in granting commissions and in providing service when commissions are granted. At a large school for boys in Maryland, where a group of conscientious objectors were working, the president, after 26 years at the institution, resigned in protest against approval by the board of the white students' desire to abolish segregation at the school.

* * *

And So Forth

The Southern Methodists have held conferences of all their main departments of work. Their youth caravans will continue during the comming summer, though reduced in number.

The TVA has just celebrated its 10th anniversary. *Labor,* the journal of the railroad brotherhoods, declares that "Dixie and the nation have profited too by its development of large-scale forestry programs, processes to extract important minerals from southern soils, a malaria control program, inexpensive demountable housing for war workers, fish hatcheries and wild-life refuges and a myriad of other programs calculated to enrich America."

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Du Barry Was a Lady (MGM) Lucille Ball, Gene Kelley, Red Skelton. *Musical,* in technicolor, its setting ranging from New York night club to (in a hat-check boy's dream) the court of Louis XV. Ribald humor of original stage play toned down. Elaborately staged spectacle that tries hard but is *only mildly entertaining.* M

Follow the Band (Univ.) *Musical.* Goat-dairy hand and Betsy, his trombone, make good in big city swing band. Usual slapstick comedy and band numbers as detached filler in a *trivial* film. M, Y, C

Next of Kin (British film, officially produced, distributed by Univ.) *Drama.* How "loose talk" by soldiers tipped off enemy to approaching commando raid, with resulting lack of surprise, and excessive fatalities. Succeeds in presenting factual, educational material in dramatic form with impressive effect. Combat portions convincing. *Objective, interesting.* M, Y

Russians at War (Artkino; English commentary) *Documentary,* showing armies in action, workers in factories, children under stress of war, procedure of guerrillas, is authentic, much of it photographed under combat conditions. Lacks coherent dramatic interest but is *interesting, impressive.* M, Y

Saludos Amigos (Disney; RKO) *Cartoon.* Adventures of Goofy and Donald Duck in South America, plus the brave first trans-Andes flight of Pedro, the little mail plane. Good-humored, spontaneous, presented admirably without condescension. Inserted shots of Disney staff touring and sketching interesting. *Entertaining.* M, Y, C

White Savage (Univ.) *Melodrama* of usual tropical-isle type: glamourous princess, evil white exploiters, temple rites, native dances, and an earthquake to resolve them all. "Evil" whites as menace evidently acceptable because leader is from Germany! Technicolor beautiful; otherwise, just a Sunday-comics serial. *Phony.* M, Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Air Force, Bambi, The Great Commandment, In Which We Serve, My Friend Flicka, The Pride of the Yankees, Yankee Doodle Dandy.

For Mature Audience: The Battle Cry of China, Casablanca, Desert Victory, For Me and My Gal, George Washington Slept Here, The Immortal Sergeant, Journey for Margaret, Keeper of the Flame, Life Begins at 8:30, The Moon Is Down, The More the Merrier, My Sister Eileen, One of Our Aircraft Is Missing, The Pied Piper, Random Harvest, Shadow of a Doubt, The Siege of Leningrad, This Land Is Mine, Wings and the Woman. 5-16-43

Books

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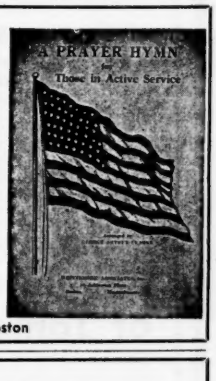

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